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Lafayette's Visit to New Orleans.
La Floride et l'ancienne Louisiane. Notes bibliographiques et
raisonnées, by L. Duval.
General James Wilkinson.

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LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO NEW ORLEANS.

A paper by Judge Henry Renshaw, read at the Cabildo, in New Orleans, on the occasion of the celebration of Lafayette Day, September 6, 1916:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In 1824 Lafayette visited the United States. It was his final voyage to the land in the achievement of whose independence he had borne so glorious a part. On this tour, Louisiana was included in the scope of his itinerary.

In December, 1824, the General Assembly of this State had authorized the Governor to draw from the public treasury a sum not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, to give General Lafayette a reception in our State worthy (so reads the statute) of the patriotic warrior, whom the American nation delights to honor; and resolutions had been adopted tending to co-operation of State and City to celebrate (again I quote the legislative language) in the most magnificent manner, the arrival of General Lafayette.

New Orleans, then the Capital of Louisiana, appropriated as the contribution of the Corporation toward the cost of the reception of Lafayette, an amount equal to that which the Governor had been empowered to expend.

The Steamer Natchez was despatched to Mobile to bring Lafayette to New Orleans.

On the morning of the 9th of April, 1825, he arrived off the delta of the Mississippi, and began the ascent of that imperial river. As his voyage progressed the cannon's reverberations announced his approach. At midnight, in the vicinity of Mr. Morgan's plantation the Natchez cast anchor. In the afternoon of the following day the

voyage was resumed. The battlefield was sighted. By felicitous selection, Lafayette's place of landing was the historic plain of Chalmette. A large assemblage had congregated on the levee. Artillery saluted as he came ashore. A cavalry detachment detailed as his escort, together with a glittering staff, awaited him. He was received by twelve marshals and by members of the committee of arrangements; and having entered his carriage, to which were harnessed six grey horses, was driven to the house of Mr. William Montgomery, which had been the headquarters of Andrew Jackson when defending New Orleans.

Within that dwelling, adorned by the richness of heroic association, the Governor of Louisiana met Lafayette and bade him welcome to the State. The distinguished guest feelingly replied. After these ceremonious addresses ensued a period yielding opportunity for presentations, for kindly greetings, for renewal of old comradeships, for interchange of martial reminiscences, for general conversation.

A procession was formed, which with Lafayette as the dominant figure, moved onward to the City, and grew in volume with its extending course. At length was reached what then was the Place d'Armes. Almonester's daughter had not yet embellished the place nor asked that its name be changed to Jackson Square. Lafayette descended from his equipage of state; he entered the Place d'Armes; the impetuous people strove to look upon him; and the joyous acclamations of the multitude mingled with the music which the belfry of the Cathedral scattered on the air.

In the center of the square on arch of triumph had been reared. There Roffignac, Mayor of New Orleans, received Lafayette, and expressed the gratification of the City at his arrival. At the Courthouse, Denis Prieur, the Recorder, and as such the presiding officer of the City Council, extended to Lafayette, in their behalf, a further welcome.

To the Mayor and to the Recorder, the renowned visitor made appropriate acknowledgment.

Lafayette was thereafter conducted to the Cabildo, which in those distant days was the City Hall, and continued so to be until the early portion of May, 1853. This building had been sumptuously furnished for his service and was assigned as his place of abode during his residence in New Orleans.

The Cabildo became the house of Lafayette; or in the speech so beloved of the people, *la maison de Lafayette*. Amid the enthusiasm of the exulting citizens he took possession of his temporary home.

Turning from those who were in attendance, he advanced to the front of this building, and from the balcony on Chartres Street reviewed the troops that were parading below.

Into the Cabildo poured the people eager to greet the famous veteran of our struggle for independence.

The tide of visitors ebbed away. The night drew on. They who had been his companions at dinner lingered for a while; all who were not of the household at length withdrew; the hero was left to his repose; and quiet brooded over the Cabildo.

On the morning of the morrow the tide again set in, and the flow and the ebb continued as day followed upon day. Officials, members of the bar and of the medical profession, soldiers of the American Revolution, veterans of the field of Chalmette; citizens, generally, called to offer to the hero the lavish homage of their reverential admiration.

On the second evening of his sojourn, Lafayette visited James H. Caldwell's theatre, which had recently been built in the upper portion of the expanding city. Caldwell was an Englishman who had settled in New Orleans. He had amassed fortune; was a patron of the drama; and was himself a "well graced actor." At Caldwell's theatre Lafayette was greeted with clamorous manifestations of veneration and delight.

From witnessing the representation on the American stage, he proceeded to the Orleans theatre and viewed the last two acts of a comedy performed by Davis' Company of histrions. At the termination of the play, the actresses and actors rendered a musical composition which ended with mention of Lafayette and freedom. The audience took up these associated words, and the house resounded with tumultuous shouts of *Vivent Lafayette et la liberté*.

A ball given for him at the Orleans theatre presented a spectacle of brilliant revelry. It is said that eight hundred ladies graced the occasion with their presence.

On the 13th of the month the City was illuminated. The Place d'Armes was radiant with multicolored light. The arch, the Courthouse, the Cabildo blazed with the splendor of fiery ornamentation. In the softness of the April night, the daughters of New Orleans, clad in the elegance of evening attire, crowded the neighboring balconies, or were units of beauty in the throng which filled the Square.

Restriction of time constrains me to bring to a conclusion this imperfect sketch.

Briefly it may be stated that the City was riotous with gaiety of patriotism. Their hearts uplifted in rejoicing, a demonstrative

people, with generous enthusiasm, made of the visit of Lafayette a glad series of gala days and festal nights.

Friday, the 15th of April, was the date of his departure. About mid-day he left the Cabildo. The soldiery taking up their march, advanced between crowding lines of people, and were his guard of honor to where the Natchez lay expectant.

The words of farewell were spoken; the moorings were thrown off; and the steamer, dignified by its heroic burden, moved slowly forth upon the broad surface of the stream.

Thus passed the visit of Lafayette, leaving as a precious possession to the people, the proud remembrance that they had been privileged to entertain the illustrious Frenchman, who in the days of his chivalrous youth had fought for the cause of our infant Republic.

Here then to-night, in the house of Lafayette, beneath the companion flags which drape these walls, the tri-colored emblem of France and the constellated standard of the American Union, let us proclaim our fervent hope that the historic friendship which culminated in glorious victory at Yorktown may endure, and that undimmed in the procession of the ages, it may continue "from generation unto generation and unto countless generations forever."



NOTES

Bibliographiques et raisonnés
Sur les principaux ouvrages publiés
sur
LA FLORIDE
et l'ancienne LOUISIANE,

depuis leur découverte jusqu' a l'époque actuelle.
accompagnés de trois cartes de Guillaume Delisle,
publiés en 1703 et 1712. /

Notes bibliographiques et raisonnés sur les principaux Ouvrages
Publiés sur la Floride et l'Ancienne Louisiane depuis leur découverte
jusqu'à l'époque actuelle.

INTRODUCTION

As the title conveys, these Notes include a period and a field that practically cover the whole of early colonial history and they disseminate over it an amount of light that renders even the darkest paths across it clear to the eyes of the student. When finished, some sixty years ago, it was without doubt the most complete catalogue of its kind existence, and had it attained the publicity it deserved it would have placed its author in the foremost rank of American historiographers. Considered today when historical research work has been specialized to reach the most finished perfection, it can stand the test of comparison even with other critical and analytical catalogues compiled by noted scholars aided by staffs of skilled assistants in the great historical collections of libraries enriched by the treasures of fifty years of successful mining in the European archives; covering the field in which Boimare delved alone with no other assistance than that furnished by his own two hands and indefatigable patience and energy. The volumes in his list number one hundred and ninety; each one is accompanied by its analytical and critical note; all but a few carefully excepted in the test, have been read by the author and the whole manuscript a considerable one which includes an index has been copied by him in a pains-taking chirography that in the minute precision of its clear characters vie with copperplate. The manuscript is in short a marvel of erudition and conscientious devotion to an arduous and as it proved an ungrateful task.*

The sorrow that it should have remained lost so long and deprived of its usefulness is forgotten in the joy over its final recovery and restoration to its rightful position in the world of letters. What was its history after it left its author during the many years of its wanderings and by what good adventure it at last reached a sure haven on the book shelf of our distinguished member, we do not know. No other work of Boimare's has come down to us; whether any other one is drifting beyond our ken on the sea of literary flotsam and jetsam may never find out; presumably his life did not more

*NOTE—The Manuscript of this work and the only copy known to collectors, belongs to the private library of Americano of Mr. T. P. Thompson, who has now kindly loaned it to the Louisiana Historical Society for publication.

than compass this achievement; it must indeed have consumed the number of his allotted working years for he was middle aged as we can compute when he began it.

The modest seclusion in which he lived, disguised as we may well express it, as a bookseller in New Orleans and Paris shielded him so well from publicity that we are dependent upon the charitable memory of an old friend, Mr. Henry Vignaud of Paris, the distinguished historian and an honorary member of our Society, for a few items to eke out the details that we have previously obtained concerning the life of so admirable and generous a laborer in the vineyard of Louisiana history.

Mr. William Beer of the Howard Library, our co-member, has most considerately placed at our disposition a letter written by Mr. Vignaud to him in answer to his inquiry about Boimare. "I have known Boimare," he writes March 19th, 1917, "and all his family very well; he began by being a bookseller in New Orleans, where he married a Creole lady. I do not remember her name. He returned to France and came back to New Orleans later as an assistant to his eldest son Francis Boimare, as bookseller. He returned to France with no money and had to earn his bread by hard work. He died in poverty. He was an upright man."

It was in the year 1825, that Boimare came to New Orleans. His store was in Chartres street, number 1135, afterwards removed to 137 Royal street. He also maintained a circulating library. The store and library are remembered still (an inherited memory) as of importance in the life of the city; at that time entering its golden age of prosperity and wealth which were bearing fruit in elegance and refinement of life. The great names of the bench and bar that have come down to us in local tradition as glorious were then borne by the living men. Francois Xavier Martin, then in the maturity of his life, had already published his history of Louisiana; Charles Gayarre, young, handsome and ambitious, was known to be preparing to dispute the title of historian with him. We can imagine, we like to imagine, that they were wont of an afternoon to resort to Boimare's store for books and papers and to hear and to talk over the news. There must have been some discussion, there always has been discussion among lawyers over the respective qualifications of the two men, both of the legal profession, as historians and no doubt there was a general overhauling of the historical authorities then available at Boimare's, and in the city. Boimare, who as we have seen, possessed also qualifications as a historian, must have been a useful factor in procuring new data, and in judging what was in current handling.

Although, as far as we know, no mention is made of him, nor of any service rendered by him to the historians. We have no facts to go on but the surmise is probable almost unavoidable that Boimare found and made known to the historians, Martin and Gayarre, a certain manuscript that was being circulated in copies in the city. This was the *Journal Historique de l'Établissement des Français à la Louisiane* by Bernard de la Harpe.

Both historians, as we know, had recourse to La Harpe for facts and dates following him faithfully, but, neither for all the use he made of the manuscript seems to have had the thought of preserving it in print for the use of succeeding generations of historical students, although both could have done so with financial ease, and here in New Orleans at that time there were presses that were putting out very creditable work (Gayarre's own first book, his "*Essai Historique*," was published in this city.) It is to Boimare's credit, we may even say glory, that he the humble bookseller did not also "pass by," but took upon himself, to rescue it from probable destruction, at any rate from probable loss—a record that stands as the open door to all historical research in the early colonial history of Louisiana. For this reason, if not on account of his later work Boimare's name should be enshrined in our Cabildo, our Louisiana Historical Society's Hall of Fame. As the *Journal Historique* was published in Paris, not New Orleans, in 1831, Boimare may have gone to France for that purpose. He returned to New Orleans in the early fifties, but as we have seen was forced to go back to France to make his living.

In Paris he obtained employment in the great establishment of Chadenat, celebrated at that time for his collections of rare Americanae. No one in the old or new world was better fitted to appreciate such a field, or to labor in it. His call to it must have been imperative. Neither poverty nor hard work deterred him from answering it; nor the fear of greater poverty nor harder work. There is nothing more to add, further comment seems unnecessary.

GRACE KING.

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Un certain nombre d'ouvrages ont certainement du échapper à mes recherches, mais comme ce Travail ne sera livré à l'impression qu'autant que des Juges compétents le croiront utile au public je réparerai alors les omissions qui s'y rencontrent.

PREFACE

I have put these notes together believing that I could fill a bibliographical gap and in publishing them facilitate the researches of those who wish to know the different histories of Louisiana; to follow the voyagers who visited it at different periods or sought information about the writings of the various naturalists who have given a description of its natural wealth. This was my motive for the work.

The summary and critical accounts that follow each book have been drawn from the best sources of authority. As to the reflections that belong properly to me, I have endeavored after becoming acquainted with the books to write them with impartiality, if without elegance, for my inexperience as a writer forces me to beg the indulgence of the reader, in this respect.

In general, the books that are the subject of these notes, are not the ordinary ones of commerce many even are very rare, but when by dint of searching, I have succeeded in obtaining them it has happened frequently that the maps and pictures that should have accompanied them have been abstracted from them, which prevents the reader from following the author in his geographical indications. To remedy this inconvenience as much as possible, I have joined to this volume three maps by the aid of which one can easily supply those that are lacking in the books that refer to them.

These three maps are from Guillaume de l'Isle, the first two of La Nouvelle France, of Mexico and Florida, were published in 1703; the other one, the map of Louisiana did not appear until 1712, but it is much more correct than that of Hennepin and Joutel, and it possesses the advantage of showing the itineraries of the first explorers of Florida and Louisiana. By means of the chronological sequence adopted in these notes, and the maps that accompany them, the reader is enabled to read the complete history of Louisiana, written by contemporaries themselves, and to follow the progress of the settlements that were successively established.

As I have said, my principal object in view, was to make known the works of the historians, the explorers and the naturalists who have written especially on Louisiana and Florida; nevertheless, I thought it would be agreeable to my readers to furnish them also the titles of the principal works whose authors have given their attention

rather to philosophical considerations on America and its origin and of its people in general, rather than to the relation of its history, or the description of its various parts. The list of these works will be found at the end of the notes. If I have succeeded in the object that I proposed to myself, and above all if this little work is favorably received by the Louisiana public, I shall feel myself amply paid.

A. L. BOIMARE,

One time Librarian at New Orleans.

Paris, September, 1853.

PREMIERE EPOQUE.

Ouvrages publiés avant 1681.

Lorsque les Français sous la conduite de La Salle prirent possession de la Louisiane au mois d'avril, 1682, elle avait fait partie jusque là de la province espagnol Floride qui dépendait de la vice royauté du Mexique. Il convient donc d'indiquer d'abord les principaux ouvrages publiés antérieurement à cette époque et dans lesquels on trouve des notions concernant le pays qui plus tard recut un autre nom en changeant de propriétaire.

Le premier ouvrage connu est celui d'un gentilhomme portugais qui accompagnait Hernandez Soto dans l'expédition de la Floride. L'auteur a gardé l'anonyme. Il est intitulé suivant M. Cernaux Campans que je copie:

1. Relacion verdadera dos trabalhos que o Goberhador D. Fernando de Soto y ciertos fidalgos Portugueses passaram no descubrimento da provincia de Florida agora novamente feita por hune fidalgo d'Elvas.

En 4o. Evora, en la casa de Burgos.

1557.

Cet ouvrage dont l'original, dit M. Cernaux, est rarissime a été traduit d'abord en anglais par Hakluyt, sous le titre suivant:

2. Virginia, richly valued by the description of the main land of Florida, her next neighbour: out of the foure yeeres continuall travel and discouerie for above one thousand miles east and west of don Fernando de Soto, and six hundred able men in his companie. Wherein are truly observed the richness and fertility of those parts, abounding with things necessarie, pleasurable and profitable for the life of man: with the natures and dispositions of the inhabitants: written by a portugall gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the action, and translated out of the portuguese by Richard Hakluyt. fo. London, 1609.

Il à été traduit ensuite en français par Citry de la Guette, sous le titre de:

3. Histoire de la conquest de la Floride par les espagnols sous Fernando de Soto écrite en portugais par un gentilhomme de la ville d'Elvas. 300 pages.

Paris. Denis Thierry, in 12o.

1685.

"Cette relation," dit Citry de la Guelle, "a l'avantage d'estre original et de venir de la première main, à la difference de celle de la Floride del Inca Garcillasso de la Vega qui ne peut lui disputer le prix, n'ayant paru que depuis celle-cy, et n'ayant été composé que sur le recit que luy en fit un simple cavalier qui avait suivy Fernando de Soto en la Floride, et qui, faute d'intelligence a pu se tromper en beaucoup de choses, aussi bien que Garcillasso faute de memoire et d'application. C'est ainsi qu'au commencement de sa Floride, il assure que Soto y, alla accompagne de treize cents hommes, au lieu que notre auteur dit, avec beaucoup plus d'apparence qu'il n'y en avait que six cen; sur quoy l'on doit remarquer qu'un gentilhomme comme il estait a ordinairement plus de lumiere qu'un simple soldat. Il n'a pas voulu se faire connoistre et cet exemple de modestie nous est un bon garant de sa sincerite. Son style est naturel, simple et sans aucuns ornements, tel que le doit estre celui d'un discours qui n'a que la vérité pour objet."

4. Historie notable de la Floride situé es Indes occidentales, Contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines et pilotes français, descrits par le capitaine Laudonnière qui a commandé l'espace d'un an trois moys. A laquelle á esté ajousté un quatrieme voyage fait par le capitaine Gourgues, mise en lumière par Mo. Basanier, Gentilhomme français mathematico. Paris. Guillaume Auvray, 8o. de 8 et 124 pages. 1586.

Le même ouvrage reimprimé avec soins en 1853, par M. P. Janet, dans sa charmante bibliotheque Elzévirinne, in 16o. 1 vol. Hakluyt à traduit en anglais la relation de Laudonnière. Elle a pour titre:

5. A notable history containing four voyages made by certayne French captaynes into Florida, newly translated out of French by R. H. London. 1587.

Le premier voyage du capitaine Laudonnière remonte a 1564, il avait pour objet la reconstruction du fort bati en 1562 par Ribáut qui, le premier des Français avait abordé à la Floride. Les Espagnols jaloux de cet etablissement, l'avaient entierement ruiné; ils avaient meme fait perir une partie des premiers colons mis en fuite et dispersé le reste. L'expédition de Laudonnière eut un plein succes: il reconstruisit dans un autre lieu le fort auquel on donna le nom de Fort de la Caroline. Mais la division s'étant mise parmi les colons, par l'effet de l'insubordination et par

l'osiveté, Ribaud qui était revenu dans le pays, ne put y rétablir ni l'ordre ni le goût du travail. Les Espagnols profitèrent de cette anarchie pour surprendre le fort de la Caroline. Dans la chaleur du combat ils massacrèrent d'abord partie de ceux qui le défendaient; mais ils poussèrent ensuite la barbarie à un tel excès qu'ils écorchèrent vif Ribaud et pendirent à un arbre quelques de uns de ses compagnons d'infortune, avec cette inscription derisoire: non comme Français mais comme heretiques.

Dominique de Gourgue du Mont Marsan indigné de cette atrocité des Espagnols équipa un vaisseau à ses frais, débarqua à la Floride y reprit le fort de la Caroline et un autre fort qu'ils y avaient bâti et fit pendre plusieurs espagnols au même arbre ou ils avaient attaché les Français. L'inscription portait: non comme Espagnols mais comme Forbans. "La faiblesse du Gouvernement français faillit rendre de Gourgues victime de son action héroïque. Poursuivi par les Espagnols il leur aurait été livré s'il ne se fut pas soigneusement caché."

Boucher de la Richarderie.

6. Garcillasso de la Vega (El Inca). La Florida del Inca, historia del avelantado Hernando de Soto in 4o. en Lisboa 1605.

A été traduit en Français par divers écrivains; la version la plus estimée est celle de Richelet, elle est intitulée:

7. Histoire de la conquête de la Floride; ou relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la découverte de ce pays par Fernando de Soto. Paris. Musier, en 1202 parties en un volume. 281 et 249 pages. 1709 and 1711.

Il ignore quelle est la date de la première traduction anglaise de la Floride de Garcillasso.

Richelet dit que: "La première traduction de ce livre faite en français est due à Baudoin et parut en 1658, quoique bonne dans le fond, elle eut un sort assez extraordinaire; le libraire qui vit qu'elle n'avait pas un grand débit, la considéra comme un mauvais livre et la vendit aux épiciers pour servir d'enveloppe; elle devint rare et monta à un prix excessif; mais les libraires de Hollande la firent re-imprimer en 1705 et 1706.

Il y aurait pour l'honneur de Garcillasso de la Vega bien des réflexions à faire sur ce que dit notre auteur, M. Citry de la Guette, l'un de nos meilleurs écrivains, mais nous nous contenterons des suivantes: "Qui à oui poser en règle qu'une relation qui n'a par uque depuis une autre, mérite moins le titre d'original

que celle qui est anterieure? Et ou en serions nous avec nos histoires dont les posterieres ont, la plupart du temps, fait evanouir et avec raison celle du temps meme? Croira-ton que Garcillasso n'a mis dans son livre un si bel ordre, un detail si exacte et si bien circonstancie que sur la rapport d'un simple cavalier peu intelligent? Si cette relation à été de memoire, je l'en trouve d'autant meilleure, car assurément ce cavalier devait etre un prodige puisqu'il narre dans un si bel ordre un si grand nombre d'actions qui s'etaient passées il y avait pres de 40 ans. Cela serait facile à prouver; l'expedition s'etait faite en 1539, Garcillasso à fini son ouvrage en 1591. Je lui donne pour le composer dix ans, c'est beaucoup. Ainsi depuis 1543 que cette expedition fut terminee, jus'en 1581, il faut compter 38 ans. Pour moi j'admire une si belle memoire. Mais je le dirai sincerement: M. Citry de la Guette à eu raison de louer son auteur aux dépens de Garcillasso; et j'ai rasion de venger Garcillasso au prejudice de ceux qui le meprisent. Si nous faisons autrement nous serions tous deux à blâmer."

8. DeLaët. Novus orbis descriptions Indiae occidentalis libri xviii, autore Joanne de Laët, Antuerpensi, novis tabulis geographicis et variis animentium, plantazum, frunctunque iconibus illustrati folio, Lugduni Batavorum apud Elzevirius. 1633.

Cet ouvrage fut bientot traduit en francais sous le titre suivant:

9. Le Nouveau Monde ou Description des Indes occidentales contenant xviii livres, par le Sieur Jean de Laët d'Anvers, enrichies de nouvelles tables geographiques et de figures des animaux, plantes et fruits. Leyde et Amsterdam, Elzevir f. 1640.

"Dans le quatrieme livre de cet ouvrage (p. 103 a 131) dit Charlevoix, l'auteur fait une assez bonne description de la Floride qu'il à tiré principalement des annales d'Antoine de Herrera. Il nous apprend toutes les tentatives des Espagnols pour s'y etabliir, sous la conduite de Jean Ponce de Leon, du licencié Luc Vasquez, d'Ayllon, de Pamphile de Narvaez, de Fernando de Soto et de Louys de Moscoso: les expeditions des Français dans cette partie de la Floride qui est aujourd'hui partagé entre les Anglais et les Espagnols; l'etablissement de St. Augustin par Don Pedro Menenddez après que ce General eut chasse les Français de la Floride et la guerre qu'il eut à so tenir contre le Chevalier Francis Drake, anglais.

Boucher de la Richarderie de son coté, porte le jugement suivant

sur l'ouvrage de Laët: "C'est une assez bonne compilation des materiaux qu' ont fourni a l'auteur des divers ouvrages dont il donne lui-meme la liste au commencement du sien. On doit lui rendre la justice de dire que son travail annonce une critique assez judicieuse et qu'il developpe dans le cours de sa description, et surtout dans la preface generale qui est a la tête un esprit de liberté et d'indépendance qu'on est étonné de trouver dans un sujet de la couronne d'Espagne. Laët, en decrivant la coté de la Floride, ne mentionne le nom d'aucune riviere dont l'embouchure correspondrait a celle du Mississippi et il ajoute que tout l'espace depuis la baie de St. Joseph jusqu'a la riviere des Palmes (Le Rio del Norte) est fort peu connu. Toutefois dans sa carte de la Nouvelle Espagne il indique un Rio escondido dont la position est a peu de chose près celle du Mississippi. On peut donc conclure qu'a cette epoque (1640) la veritable entré du Mississippi etait inconnue, même aux Geographes espagnols dont Laët faisait partie. Une traduction anglaise de Laët, Herrera et autres se trouve dans l'ouvrage de John Harris intitulé:

10. Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca ov: A collection of voyages and Travels consisting of above four hundred of the most authentic writers, beginning with Hackluyt, Purchass in English; Ramusio in Italian; Thevenot in French, &a. London. 2 vol. fo. 1715.
11. Heylyns (Peter). 'Cosmography in four books, containing the chorography and history of the whole world: and all the principal Kingdoms, Provinces, Seas, and the Isles thereof. Five parts in one vol. fo. the 6th edition. London. from 1663 to 1682. Cet ouvrage qui, par le nombre de ses éditions parait avoir été populaire en Angleterre, contient à la page 99 du 4e. livre une description de la Floride qui ne fournit pas plus de lumiere sur la position du Mississippi que celui de Laët.

Avant de donner l'indication des ouvrages relatifs a la Louisiane depuis son occupation par les Français, je dois faire mention des deux volumes suivants, publiés par M. Ternaux Campans, lesquels font partie de sa:

Collection de Voyages, Relations et Memoires originaux pour servir a l'histoire de la decouverte de l'Amerique, Paris. 20 vols. in 8o. 1837 a 1841.

12. L'un de ces volumes (le 20e. de la collection) est du plus haut interet pour l'histoire de la Floride, ainsi qu'on en pourra juger

par l'indication des piéces presque toutes inédites qui s'y trouvent réunies:

1. Sommation à faire aux habitants des contrées et provinces qui s'étendent depuis la rivière des Palmes et le cap de la Floride.
2. Mémoire sur la Floride, ses cotés et ses habitants qu'aucun de ceux qui l'ont visité n'ont su décrire par Hernando d'Escalante Fontanedo.
3. Lettre écrite par l'an delantado Soto, au corps municipal de la ville de Santiago, de l'isle de Cuba.
4. Relation de ce qui arriva pendant le voyage du capitaine Soto et détails sur la nature du pays qu'il parcourut, par Louis Hernandez de Biedma.
5. Relation de la Floride pour l'illustrissime seigneur Vice-roi de la Nouvelle Espagne apporté par Frère Gregorio de Beteta.
6. Compte rendu par Guido de las Bazarer du voyage qu'il fit pour découvrir les ports et les baies qui sont sur les cotés de la Floride, pour la sureté des troupes que l'on doit envoyer, au nom de sa Majesté, "coloniser cette contrée" et la pointe de Ste. Hélène. Entreprise fait en vertu des ordres de Don Luis de Velasco, à sa Sacrée Majesté catholique et royal sur les affaires de la Floride.
7. Mémoire de l'heureux résultat et du bon voyage que Dieu notre Seigneur a bien voulu accorder à la flotte qui partit de la ville de Cadiz pour se rendre à la coté et dans la province de la Floride, et dont était General l' illustre seigneur Pero Menendez de Abiler, commandeur de l'ordre de St. Jacques. Cette flotte partit de la baie de Cadiz, le jeudi matin, 28 du mois de juin 1565, elle arriva sur les cotés des provinces de la Floride, le 28 aout de la même année, par Francisco Lopez de Mendoza, chapelain de l'expédition.
8. Copie d'une lettre venant de la Floride, envoyé à Rouen et depuis au seigneur d'Eueron, ensemble le plan et portrait du fort que les Français y ont fait.
9. Histoire memorable du dernier voyage aux Indes, lieu appelé la Floride, fait par le Capitaine Ribaut, et entrepris par le commandement du Roy, en l'an 1555.
10. La Floride ou l'Histoire merveilleuse de ce qui est aduvenu

au dernier voyage du Capitaine Jean Ribaut, enterpris par le commandement du Roy, a l'Isle des Indes que vulgairement on appelle la Floride.

11. La reprise de la Floride par le capitaine Gourgue, M. French, dans la deuxième partie de son "Historical collection of Louisiana," a traduit en anglais les pieces Nos. 3 et 4, cidesus relatés mais sans prevenir ses lecteurs qu'il en était redevable a M. Ternaux Campans. Le second volume de M. Ternaux relatif a la Floride (la 7e. de la collection) est intitule:
13. Relations et naufrages d'Alvar Nunez, Cabeca de la Vaca, publié á Valladolid en 1555 et traduite pour la première fois en Français.

Voici comment M. Ternaux Campans s'exprime dans sa préface au sujet de Cabeca de la Vaca:

"La relation de la Floride nous fait connaitre la position exacte, les moeurs et les coutumes d'un grand nombre de peuplades qui n'existent plus aujourd'hui; renseignements d'autant plus précieux pour nous, que quelques années apres les Français, tenterent a plusieurs reprises, de former un établissement dans ce pays. La véracité du recit de Cabeca, est confirmé par Herrera, et par tous les historiens espagnols. Il fut certainement un homme d'une grande énergie et son voyage à travers le continent septentrional de l'Amérique, est une des entreprises les plus hasardeuses qui jamais aient été tentés.

La relation de la Vaca commence en 1527 et se termine en 1537, époque de son retour à Lisbonne.

2e. Epoque.

DEUXIEME EPOQUE.

Ouvrages publiés depuis l'occupation de la Louisiane
par les Français.

14. Marquette (le Père) Jésuite. Découvertes de quelques pays et nations de l'Amérique septentrionale. 9te. Paris, Michallet, petit in 4o. de 43 pages. 1681.
C'est le journal que fit le père Marquette de son voyage avec le sieur Joliet lorsqu'ils découvrirent le Mississipi en 1673. Il parut pour la première fois dans le Recueil des voyages de Thévenot, et n'avait pas été réimprimé depuis, lorsqu'en 1845 M. Rich,

auteur de la *Bibliotheca Americana*, en fit faire un tirage a 125 exemplaires.

Ce journal a etait traduit en anglais et placé à la suite de l'ouvrage du P. Hennequin dans l'edition de Londres de 1699. On en trouvera le titre au No. 19.

M. French (voir No.) a également traduit cette relation et l'a inserée dans le 2e. volume de sa *Collection Historique*, Pages 280 a 297.

Malgré la crédulité du père Marquette, la simplicité et la naïveté de son recit attachent le lecteur et l'interessent. La carte qui accompagne cette relation est la première qui ait été publiée sur le cours du Mississippi. Elle avait été dressé sur les indications des Indiens et servi aux voyageurs dans leur exploration.

Dans le dixieme volume de son *American Biography*, M. Sparks a consacré un assez long article au père Marquette et à Joliet, nous renvoyons nos lecteurs a cet excellent ouvrage publié à Boston de 1835 a 1848 en 15 volumes in 12.

15. Leclercq (le père Chrestien) Missionnaire recollet. Premier etablissement de la foy dans la nouvelle France et les premières découvertes faites depuis le fleuve St. Laurent, la Louisiane et le fleuve Colbert jusqu'au golphe Mexique. Paris, Auroy, 2 vols. in 12 de 559 et 458 pages. 1691.

Cet ouvrage n'a été ni traduit en anglais, ni réimprimé depuis sa publication aussi est-il difficile de se le procurer. Toutefois il n'offre d'intérêt, relativement a l'histoire de la Louisiane que par l'insertion faite par le pere Leclercq, dans les chapitres xxii et xxiii de son ouvrage, du journal du père Zenobe Membre, Missionnaire recollet qui accompagnait La Salle dans son premier voyage; et dans le chapitre xxiv de celui du père Anasthase Douay, autre missionnaire recollet qui faisait partie de la seconde expedition de la Salle et qui fut témoin oculaire de sa mort. Ainsi que nous le dirons ci-apres le père Hennepin a également inséré ce dernier Journal dans l'ouvrage indiqué sous le No. 18.

Les relations de pères Zenobe et Anastase ont toujours passé pour etre très fidèles. Dans le proces verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane par La Salle, publié pour la première fois par M. Sparks en 1844, on voit figurer la signature du premier et le récit succinct insere dans l'acte du notaire, La Métairie confirme en tous points celui du missionnaire.

16. Hennepin (le père Louis) Récollet. Description de la Louisiane, nouvellement découverte au Sud Ouest de la Nouvelle France, par ordre du Roy. (dédiée a Louis xiv.) Carte in 12o. Paris, Huré 312 pages. Description et 107 Mœurs des Sauvages. 1683.

Ce fut le premier publié par le père Hennepin, il n'y mentionne nulle part le fait d'avoir descendu le Mississippi depuis la rivière des Illinois, ou il quitta La Salle. En outre, la carte qui est jointe à son livre, est la démonstration la plus complète que ce missionnaire n'a pas dit la vérité en se vantant dans sa seconde relation d'avoir précédé La Salle et reconnu, avant lui, l'embouchure du fleuve.

Les deux ouvrages dont on trouvera les titres à la suite de celui-ci, ne doivent être considérés que comme des amplifications du premier et comme des spéculations de librairie inspirés par le succès qui l'avait accueilli à son apparition.

17. Nouvelle découverte d'un pays plus grand que L'Europe, situé dans l'Amérique entre le Nouveau Mexique et le mer glaciale; dédiée a Guillaume iii Roy d'Angleterre, 2 cartes et fig. in 12 Leyde 604 pages et Table. 1697.

18. Nouveau Voyage d'un pays plus grand que l'Europe avec des reflexions des entreprises du sieur de la Salle sur les mines de Ste. Barbe. Dédiée a Guillaume iii Roy d'Angleterre. Fig. Carte in 12o. Utrecht 389 pages. 1698.

C'est en s'appropriant la relation du père Anastase Douay missionnaire récollet, qui avait accompagné La Salle dans sa dernière expédition, que le père Hennepin a composé ce dernier ouvrage.

Les libraires de Hollande ont donné de nombreuses éditions dans les formats in 4o. et 12o. des ouvrages du pere Hennepin dont ils ont diversifié les titres. La seconde relation de ce religieux a été traduite dans presque toutes les langues de l'Europe. Voici le titre de la traduction anglaise dans laquelle on a réuni les deuxième et troisième ouvrages de pere Hennepin:

19. New Discovery of a vast country in America, extending above four thousand miles between New France and New Mexico, to which are added several new discoveries in North America, not published in the French edition. Both parts in one volume 8o. Maps and plates. London 240 et 216 pages. 1699.

"Le père Hennepin avait été fort lié avec M. de la Salle et l'avait

suivi aux Illinois d'ou il l'envoya, avec le sieur Dacan, remonter le Mississippi. C'est le voyage qu'il a décrit dans son premier ouvrage dont le titre n'est pas juste, car le pays qu'il decouvrit en remontant ce fleuve depuis la rivière des Illinois jusqu'au sault St. Antoine, n'est pas de la Louisiane, mais de la Nouvelle France. Le titre du second ouvrage ne l'est davantage, car si loin qu'on ait remonté le Mississippi, on à encore été bien éloigné de la mer Glacial. Lorsque l'auteur publia cette "seconde relation, il était brouillé avec M. de la Salle. Il parait même qu'il avait défense de retourner en Amérique et que ce fut le chagrin qu'il en concut, qui le porta à s'en aller en Hollande ou il fit imprimer son troisième ouvrage. Il n'y decharge pas seulement son chagrin sur la Salle, il fait encore retomber sur la France dont il se prétendait maltraité et croit sauver son honneur en déclarant qu'il était né sujet du roi catholique. Mais il aurait du se souvenir que c'était au frais de la France et que c'était au nom du roi très chrétien que lui et le sieur Dacan avaient pris possession des pays qu'ils avaient découverts. Il ne craignait même pas d'avancer que c'était avec l'agrement du roi catholique, son premier souverain, qu'il dediait son livre au roi d'Angleterre Guillaume III, et qu'il sollicitait ce monarque à faire la conquête de ces vastes regions, à y envoyer des colons et à y faire prêcher l'évangile au infidèles, démarche qui scandilisa les catholiques et fit rire les protestants memes, surpris de voir un religieux qui se disait missionnaire et notaire apostolique, exhorter un prince hérétique à fonder une eglise dans le nouveau monde."

Charlevoix.

Je terminerai ces notes sur les trois ouvrages du père Hennepin en rapportant les jugements de M. M. Sparks et Falconer:

"Hennepin accompanied La Salle to the Illinois and there parted from him. His account of the Mississippi south of this river is a mere fabrication."

20. Tonti (le chevalier) Gouverneur du fort St. Louis aux Illinois. Dernieres découvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrional de M. de la Salle. Paris, Jean Guignard in 12o. 1597.
Cet ouvrage à été reimprime plusieurs fois en Hollande sous le titre de *Relations de la Louisiane et du fleuve Mississippi*. Il a été traduit en anglais et est intitulé:
21. Account of Mons. de la Salle's last expedition and discoveries in North America, published by the Chevalier Tonti. London 8o. 1698.

Le père Charlevoix et après lui plusieurs écrivains ont prétendu que l'ouvrage de Tonti était apochryphe et aurait été desavoués par lui. Des fautes d'impression, des inexactitudes dans certaines dates, quelques on dit rapportés trop légèrement et surtout des amplifications de rhétorique dues à l'éditeur, ne sont pas des preuves suffisantes pour adopter l'opinion de Charlevoix, qui, écrivant d'ailleurs un demi siècle après Tonti aurait eu peine à recueillir de lui un pareil désaveu. Mais, en lisant Tonti il n'est pas difficile de se rendre compte des causes du jugement malveillant dont il a été victime. Un prêtre missionnaires le frère de la Salle, l'avait honteusement trompé et Tonti en publiant sa mauvaise action, s'était attiré la colère et le ressentiment des robes grises et noires. Le père Hennepin de son côté refuse à Tonti jusqu'au courage et jusqu'à la fermeté dont il a donné les preuves les plus éclatantes et qui sont établies par les rapports officiels des gouverneurs de Canada. M. Falconer dans un ouvrage dont nous rendrons compte ci après, a publié pour la première fois en 1844 la traduction de plusieurs manuscrits provenant de Tonti et il s'exprime ainsi sur l'ouvrage dont nous venons de donner le titre. "This has hitherto been the chief authority respecting the voyage down the Mississippi. But Charlevoix says that Tonti disavowed the publication, declaring that it did him no honour in any particular.

Mr. Bancroft calls it: "A legend full of geographical contradictions, of confused dates, and manifest fiction."

And Mr. Sparks (see No.....) speaks of it: "As a work not to be trusted as a record of historical facts and that it is probable that Tonti's notes fell into the hands of a writer in Paris, who held a ready pen and was endowed with a most fertile imagination and that he infused his own invention so copiously into the text of Tonti, that the task would now be utterly hopeless of selecting the true from the false, except so far as any particular passage may be confirmed by other authorities." In this volume (of Mr. Falconer) the narrative of Tonti for the first time appears in its original form. It confirms the accuracy of the remarks of Mr. Sparks, respecting the great and extravagant additions that were made to it in the published work, in which events were transposed, geographical descriptions misplaced, and at the last two-thirds of fiction added. It is therefore, needless to point out what portion of it, the original narrative does not confirm. But the errors of date in the published work are to be found in the original. Thus 1679 is written by mistake for 1680 (page 53),

the Fête Dieu in June, 1681, is placed in October (page 61), June, 1683 for 1682 (page 74). And these mistakes run throughout the narrative, though the facts appear to be recited in their proper order. All that was known of de Tonti reflected the highest honour on him. He must be ranked next to La Salle, among those who contributed to the extension of the Western settlement of Canada, and to his bold and repeated excursions down the Mississippi, the successful expedition of d'Iberville must be ascribed. Whatever doubt the failure of the first expedition to the Gulf of Mexico may have produced in France, must have been removed by the information obtained through his courageous efforts to save his countrymen. His memory has suffered, for nearly a century and a half, under the reproach "of his want of veracity and from this it will be hereafter exempt."

S'il etait necessaire de donner une autre preuve de ce que dit M. Falconer, on la trouverait dans le passage suivant extrait du Journal de la Harpe, page 9 sous la date de Mars, 1699:

"M. d'Iberville etait incertain s'il etait dans le fleuve du Mississippi, n'y ayant trouve aucune nation dont M. de la Salle avait fait mention; ce qui venait de ce que les Tangibaos avaient ete detruits par les Quinipissas et que ces derniers avaient pris le nom de Mongoulachas. Il eut une grande satisfaction de ce que M. de Bienville, en cherchant le brevriere du pere Anasthase qui l'avait egare trouva dans un panier de ces sauvages quelques paires d'heures, sur lesquels etaient les ecrit les noms de plusieurs Canadiens du detachement de feu M. de la Salle, et une lettre qui etait adressé par M. le Chevalier de Tonti; il y disait qu'ayant appris par le Canada son depart pour la France, pour former l'établissement de ce fleuve, il l'avait descendu jusqu'a la mer avec vingt Canadiens et trente Chaouanons, sauvages des environs de l'Ouabache. Ces nouvelles leverent entierement le doute et confirmèrent la situation de l'entré du Mississippi par 29 degres. On trouva aussi chez ces nations un corset d'armes à double mailles de fil d'archal qui avait appartenu à Fernando de Soto.

22. Lahontan (le Baron de). Nouveau voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale avec un petit dictionnaire de la langue des Hurons, Amsterdam 2 vols. in 12 ,cartes et planches. 1703. Plusieurs editions de ce livre ont ete publiés en Hollande de 1703 a 1735. Il à été traduit en allemand, en espagnol et en anglais. Voici le titre de cette derniere traduction:

23. *New Voyages to North America* containing an account of the several nations of that vast continent; a geographical description of Canada and a dictionary of the Algonkine language by Baron Lahontan, Lieut. of Placentia in New Foundland. Maps and plates. 2 vol. in 8o. London. 1703 to 1735.

Dans voyages de Lahontan, il n'y a que son excursion a la rivière longue (St. Pierre) qui ait trait à la Louisiane. Cette relation est faite dans la lettre xvi de son livre. Charlevoix traite rudement le Baron de Lahontan qui, de son côté, n'a pas manqué une seule occasion de lancer des sarcasmes sur les jésuites et les récollets. C'est sans doute, à ses idées très avancées pour l'époque et a son style sans gêne que Lahontan a du l'angouement dont il a été l'objet; car il faut le reconnaître, le hableur perce trop souvent dans ses narrations. Voici le jugement que porte Boucher de la Richarderie sur les voyages de Lahontan:

"Dans un temps ou, comme l'observe l'editeur de ce voyage, les relations du Canada et des pays adjacents, presque toutes redigés par des missionnaires ne presentaient guère qu'un detail de messes, de miracles, de conversions, celle de Lahontan qui, a des faits authentiques, mêlait des fictions agréables, quoique écrites d'un style dur et barbare, tel qu'on devait l'attendre d'un soldat de fortune, dût être accueillie avec une certaine faveur. Ce qu'il y avait de conforme à la vérité dans le voyage, dut en imposer sur se qu'il contenait de fabuleux; et des grands écrivains d'une grande reputation tels que Montesquieu, le citent avec confiance. Des relations postérieures ont dévoilé tous les défauts qu'on reproche avec justice à Lahontan. On a reconnu qu'il avait fréquemment alléré les faits, que presque tous les noms propres des lieux et des peuples étaient corrompus et qu'il avait même jeté dans sa narration des épisodes absolument fabuleux."

24. Joutel. *Journal historique du dernier voyage que feu M. de la Salle fit dans le golfe de Mexique pour trouver l'embouchure et le cours de la rivière de Mississippi, nommé à present la Riviere de St. Louis qui traverse la Louisiane.* in 12 carte. Paris. Etienne Robinot. 386 pages. 1713.

Cet ouvrage a été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:

25. *A Journal of the last voyage performed by Mons. de la Salle to the Gulf of Mexico to find out the mouth of the Mississippi river, by M. Joutel.* Map in 8o. 209 pages. London. 1714.
Les pères Zenobé Membre et Anasthase Douay, missionnaires récollets et Joutel, ont raconté les premiers les diverses expedi-

tions ainsi que la fin malheureuse du brave et infortuné la Salle; Mais c'est à M. Sparks que nous devons une histoire complete de sa vie. Il est à regretter que ce monument élevé à la memoire de la Salle, ne l'ait pas été par une main française; toutefois je ne serai pas seul à temoigner ma gratitude a M. Sparks pour son ouvrage et je crois qu'elle sera partagé par tous ceux de mes compatriotes, jaloux de la gloire de leur pays.

Joutel rendit d'importants services à la Salle auquel il se montra toujours dévoué. Son journal est plein d'intérêt et paraît écrit avec sincerité. Il n'a pas été réimprimé et est devenu fort rare, aussi bien en français qu'en anglais. C'est avec raison que M. Falconer a écrit:

"The fullest account of La Salle's second expedition was written by Joutel. He was more fortunate in his editor than de Tonti. His narrative may be most implicitly relied on, even in the few particulars in which he differs from father Anasthase. His account of Texas is brief, and yet he tells almost all that any other than a scientific traveller could relate of its flat lands, open prairie, and narrow belts of timber on the borders of its rivers. Any person who has visited that country, will admit that he told nothing but what he actually saw of it, and on this account, independently of other reasons, will readily trust his relation of personal facts."

26. Bernard de la Harpe. Journal historique (de 1698 a 1720) de l'Etablissement des Français a la Louisiane.

Cet ouvrage n'a été imprimé qu'en 1831 et a paru à la Nouvelle Orleans en 1 vol. in 80. sur l'une des copies manuscrites qui circulaient a la Louisiane a cette époque. Les renseignements que la Harpe nous a transmis sont on ne peut plus précieux. Son livre ainsi que celui de Dumont continuent le journal de Joutel. C'est du journal de la Harpe que M. M. Stoddard et Darby ont tiré leur description de la Louisiane à cette époque.

27. A full and impartial account of the Company of Mississippi otherwise called the French East India Company, projected and settled by M. Law and others. London 80. 1720. Cette brochure de 79 pages publiée en anglais et en français est l'histoire de l'établissement de la Compagnie des Indes occidentales et de la Banque de Law. Elle énumère les avantages incroyables qui devaient en résulter pour les actionnaires en particulier et pour tous les français en général. Elle renferme aussi une description de la Louisiane. Je recommanderai aux personnes qui desiraient s'éclairer sur cette époque, un livre publié en 1853,

chez Hachette et Cie. sous ce titre: (*Law et son époque*), dont M. Cochut est l'auteur. Cet ouvrage est aussi curieux qu'intéressant pour l'histoire de la Louisiane, puisque, c'est à la création de la Compagnie du Mississippi que la Nouvelle Orleans doit sa fondation.

28. De l'Isle (Guillaume) Géographe du Roi. Sa lettre à Cassini sur la carte de la Louisiane et sur l'embouchure du Mississippi insérée dans le Recueil des voyages au nord, vol. 3e. Amsterdam. 1715.

Les deux cartes de G. de l'Isle, l'une des pays baignés par le golfe du Mexique, publié en 1703, et l'autre de la Louisiane qui à paru en 1712, sont indispensables pour l'intelligence des premiers ouvrages écrits sur cette contrée et sur les pays adjacents. Elles ont fait longtemps autorité pour leur exactitude. J'ai joint à ces notes une troisième carte, celle de la Nouvelle France, publié également en 1703.

29. Bernard (J. F.) Litterateur et Libraire d'Amsterdam. Recueil de voyages au nord contenant divers memoires utiles au commerce et à la navigation et un grand nombre de cartes. Amsterdam. In 12c.

Une première édition en 4 volumes a paru en 1715.

Une seconde augmentée de 4 volumes en 1724.

Et enfin une troisième publiée en 1735 est en 10 volumes.

On trouvera dans ce recueil relativement la Louisiane: Dans le vol. iii, la lettre de de l'Isle à Cassini sur la carte de la Louisiane; Dans le vol. v., Relation de la Louisiane par un officier de marine; Relation de la Louisiane et du fleuve Mississippi par le Chevalier de Tonti.

Voyage en un pays plus grand que l'Europe, par Hennepin (sa 3e. publication.)

Dans le vol. ix. Relation des Natchez par le père Le Petit, missionnaire.

Decouverte d'un pays plus grand que l'Europe, par Hennepin. (sa 2e. publication.)

Cet intéressant recueil, dit Boucher de Richarderie, "se trouve assez rarement complet. On y trouve des notions précieuses sur les animaux du Spitzberg, des relations de Groenland, de l'Islande de Terre neuve et de la Californie; le récit des premières tentatives faites pour trouver un passage du nord et aux Indes; plusieurs voyages en Tartarie et au Japon, avec d'excellentes observations

sur les habitants de ces contrees; un voyage de Moscou à la Chine, des memoires sur ce vaste empire, des relations tres étendues sur la Louisiane; enfin un memoire fort curieux sur la porcelaine."

30. Bacqueville de la Pothérie. Histoire de l'Amerique septentrional, contenant le voyage du fort de Nelson dans la baie de Hudson a l'extremite de l'Amerique, le premier établissement des Francais dans ce vaste pays, la prise du dit fort de Nelson; la description du fleuve de St. Laurent, le gouvernement de Québec, des trois rivières et de Mont Real depuis 1534 jusqu's 1701; l'histoire des peuples alliés de la nouvelle France, leurs moeurs, leurs maximes, et leurs intérêts avec toutes les nations des lacs superieurs, tels que sont les Hurons et les Illinois, l'alliance faite avec les Francais et ces peuples, la possession de tous ces pays au nom du Roi et tout ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable sous Messieurs de Tracy, de Frontenac, de la Barre et de Denonville; l'histoire des Iroquois, leurs moeurs, leurs maximes, leur gouvernement, leurs intérêts avec les Anglais, leurs alliés, tous les mouvements de guerre depuis 1689 jusqu'en 1701, leurs negotiations, leurs ambassades, pour la paix générale avec les Français et les peuples alliés de la nouvelle France, l'histoire des Abénaquis, la paix générale dans toute l'Amerique septentrionale sous le gouvernement de M. de Frontenac et M. le chevalier de Callières pendant laquelle des nations éloignés de six cents lieux de Quebec s'assemblèrent a Mont Réal. Paris. Nyon et Didot, cartes et figures 4 volumes in 12o. 1722 et 1752.

Le titre qui précédé donne un aperçu suffisant de l'ouvrage. Bacqueville a décrit le premier d'une manière exacte, les établissements des Français a Quebec, à Mont Réal aux Trois Rivières; il a fait connaître surtout dans un grand détail et en jetant dans sa narration beaucoup d'intérêt les moeurs, les usages, les maximes, la forme du gouvernement, la maniere de faire la guerre et de contracter des alliances de la nation Iroquois, si célèbre dans cette partie de l'Amérique septentrionale. Boucher de la Richarderie.

31. Marest (Le père Gabriel) missionnaire. Lettre écrite des Illinois en 1712, inseré dans le Recueil xi des lettres edifiantes in 12o.
32. Rasle (le Père) Missionnaire Jésuite. Deux lettres écrites des Illinois, inserés dans le Recueil des Lettres édifiantes, edition in 12o. vol. 17 et 23. 1722-1723.
- Le père Sebastien Rasle avait passé plus de vingt ans avec les*

sauvages, dont il avait été le maître et le compagnon; il les avait réunis en un village florissant autour d'une église qui s'élevait gracieusement sur les bords du Kennebec chéri de son troupeau. Il gouvernait paternellement sa mission. En 1720 le Gouvernement de la nouvelle Angleterre s'était emparé par la ruse de plusieurs chefs Abénakis et les retenait en otage. Quoique la rançon demandée pour les mettre en liberté eut été payée, il continuait à les tenir captifs. Les Abénakis menacèrent alors les Anglais d'exercer des représailles. Au lieu d'entrer en négociations les Anglais se saisirent du jeune Saint Castin qui tenait à la fois une commission de la France et exerçait comme fils d'une mère abénaquise, le commandement sur les sauvages. Ils voulaient en même temps forcer les Abénakis à leur livrer le père Rasle. Mais n'ayant pu réussir à les persuader ils envoyèrent un corps considérable chargé de surprendre le missionnaire. Les guerriers étaient absents du village, le père eut néanmoins le temps de se sauver dans les bois avec les vieillards et les malades; et les Anglais ne trouvèrent que ses papiers. En 1723 les Anglais dirigèrent une nouvelle expédition contre les Abénakis et mirent le feu au village. Ils essayèrent vainement à deux reprises différentes de se saisir du père Rasle. Enfin, le 23 août 1724, les anglais arrivèrent à l'improviste et firent une décharge de mousqueterie contre le village avant qu'on les eut aperçus. Il y avait, environ cinquante guerriers dans la place. Chacun saisit ses armes et tous sortirent moins pour combattre que pour protéger la fuite de leurs femmes et leurs enfants. Rasle à qui leurs cris firent comprendre le danger, s'élança au dehors pour sauver son troupeau, en attirant sur lui seul l'attention des assaillants. Son espoir ne fut point déçu. Accablé d'une grêle de balles il tomba au pied d'une grande croix qu'il avait plantée au milieu du village. Sept sauvages restés, avec lui périrent à ses côtés.

M. Bancroft dans son histoire des Etats Unis s'exprime ainsi, au sujet des missionnaires: Les missionnaires étaient heureux des souffrances qu'ils enduraient pour la gloire de leur divin maître; ils obtenaient en même temps et sans la rechercher une gloire immortelle aux yeux de la postérité par leur travail et leur infatigable persévérance. En effet à quelles rigueurs, à quels dangers ne s'exposait pas le missionnaire du côté de la nature et des hommes en se rendant au milieu des sauvages. Luttant chaque jour contre les aspérités du climat, frayant son chemin sur les eaux ou la neige, privé de toutes les douceurs du foyer domestique, n'ayant d'autre pain que du maïs broyé sous la pierre et souvent

d'autre nourriture que la mousse délétère qui croissait sur les rochers, il s'exposait à vivre, pour ainsi dire sans manger, à dormir sans asile, à voyager au loin au milieu des dangers, prêt à subir chaque jour toutes les horreurs de la faim de la captivité, ou de la mort, qu'il la recut d'un coup de tomahawk ou au milieu des tortures du feu et des supplices inventés par les sauvages."

Abbé Brasseur, Histoire du Canada.

30. Charlevoix (le père) Jésuite. Journal d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans la Louisiane en 1721 et 1722 adresse a la Duchesse de Lesdiguière, dans une serie de lettres.

Forme les volumes v. et vi. de l'édition in 12o. ou le vol. iii l'édition in 4o. de son Histoire de la Nouvelle France. (Voir ci après no. 43) a été traduit en anglais sous ce titre:

Voyage to Canada and travels through that vast country and Louisiana to the Gulph of Mexico. 2 vol. 8o. Maps. London. 1761, 1763, 1766.

Avant de publier son grand ouvrage sur le Nouvelle France Charlevoix fut envoyé en Amerique par le Duc d'Orleans, alors régent, pour y recueillir sur place tous les renseignements, et y reunir tous les documents dont il devait faire usage par l'a suite. Aussi trouve-t-on dans ses ecrits ce que l'on chercherait vainement ailleurs.

31. Lafitau (le père) Jésuite. Moeurs des sauvages ameriquains comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps, ouvrage enrichi de grand nombre de figures en taille douce, 2 vols. in 4o. Paris. Le même ouvrage 4 vol. in 12. 1724.

L'auteur de cet ouvrage qui avait résidé longtemps parmi les diverses peuplades de la Nouvelle France en décrit avec soin les moeurs, les coutumes et la religion. Aussi, dit Charlevoix, c'est l'ouvrage le meilleur et le plus exact que nous ayons sur de sujet. Le père Lafitau possédait une connaissance approfondie de l'antiquité et le parallèle qu'il établit entre les anciens peuples et les Américains est aussi savant qu'ingénieux.

35. Coxe, (Daniel) of New Jersey. Description of the English province of Carolina, by the Spaniards called Florida and by the French la Louisiane. London. Map, 8o. 50 pages. Preface. 122 descriptions. 1722. Reprinted several times.

Ce livre respire d'un bout a l'autre, la jalousie la plus passionné, contre la nation française et à ce titre c'est un specimen précieux

de ce que les préjugés peuvent enfanter de haine entre deux peuples. Malgré les affirmations reiterés de Dr. Coxe d'exploration première, on sera grandement tenté de croire qu'il a composé son écrit à l'aide de ceux du père Hennepin et de Lahontan. Il reproduit les billevesées du premier relativement à une communication courte et facile avec la Chine par le Mississippi et copie le second dans sa description de la Haute Louisiane.

Il est probable que la première édition de l'ouvrage du Dr. Coxe est antérieure à 1722, première édition indiquée par Warden, car on trouve à la fin de la traduction anglaise des voyages du père Hennepin publié à Londres en 1699 le post-scriptum suivant:

"I am informed a large map or draught of this country is preparing, together with a very particular account of the natives, their customs, religion, commodities and materials for divers sorts of manufactures, which are by the English procured at great expense from other countries."

Or, il ne pouvait être question que de l'ouvrage de Daniel Coxe, dont la carte ressemble fort à celle du père Hennepin publié en Hollande en 1698 et un peu à celle de Lahontan parue en 1703.

Il pourrait se faire toutefois que Daniel Coxe ait jugé à propos de ne publier son livre qu'à l'époque de la formation de la compagnie du Mississippi, et qu'il n'ait revendiqué la propriété de la Louisiane pour la Grande Bretagne qu'afin de donner de l'inquiétude aux actionnaires sur la validité des titres territoriaux.

M. French dans sa collection historique (voir No.) à réimprime la description de Del Coxe, mais il en a supprimé la préface qui est cependant la partie la plus curieuse de ce livre. À la première page de la reproduction de M. French, on lit la note suivante:

The account of Louisiana has been very carefully drawn up from Memoirs and Journals kept by various persons sent into the Valley of Mississippi, by D. Coxe. The expedition fitted out by him, consisting of two ships, commanded by Cap. Barr, were the first to sail up the Mississippi (1598).

Je ne ferai pas à M. French le reproche d'avoir donné une date pour une autre. J'aime mieux croire que c'est une faute typographique. Toutefois je rétablirai la vérité la verte en citant le passage de la préface de M. Coxe, extrait de l'édition publiée à Londres en 1727, que j'ai sous les yeux:

"The vast trouble and expense (those two great impediments of public good) the said proprietor has undergone to effect all this (the discovery of Louisiana) will scarcely be credited, for he not

only, at his sole charge, for several years established and kept up a correspondence with the governor and chief Indian traders in all the English colonies on the continent of America, employed many people on discoveries by land to the west, north and south of this vast extent of ground, but likewise in the year 1698 he equipped and fitted out two ships, provided with abundance of arms, ammunition, etc., not only for the use of those on board and for discoveries by sea, but also for building a fortification and settling a colony by land; there being in both vessels besides sailors and common men, above thirty English and French volunteers, some noblemen, and all gentlemen. One of these vessels discovered the mouths of the great and famous river Meschacebe, or, as termed by the French Mississippi, entered and ascended it above one hundred miles (*jusqu'au detour des anglais*) and had perfected a settlement therein if the captain of the other ship had done his duty and not deserted them. They howsoever, took possession of this country in the King's name and left in several places the arms of Great Britain affixed on boards and trees for a memorial thereof. And here I cannot forbear taking notice that this was the first ship that ever entered into that river from the sea, or that perfectly discovered or described its several mouths in opposition to the boasts and falsities of the French who in their printed books and accounts thereof assume to themselves the honour of both."

Je terminerai cette notice sur l'ouvrage de Coxe en citant le passage de l'histoire de la Nouvelle France par le pere Charlevoix (vol. iii, p. 384 de l'edition in 12o.) ayant rapport à cette première entrée des anglais dans le Mississippi: "M. d'Iberville apprit par son frère Bienville, qui était aller sonder les embouchures du Mississippi, qu'au mois de septembre, 1699 une corvette anglaise de douze canons était entre dans le fleuve et qu'il avait déclaré à celui qui l'a commandait que s'il ne se retirait, il était en état de l'y contraindre que cette mesure avait eu son effet, &c.

36. Kersland (John Ker de) Diplomate anglais. Mémoire sur la puissance des Français à Hispaniola et sur le Mississippi. (Forme le 2e. volumes de ses memoires publiés à Rotterdam en 3 vol. in 12o. avec une carte de la Louisiane). 1727.

Ce memoire écrit originairment en anglais, mais dont je n'ai vu que la traduction, porte la date de 4 Juillet 1721; il a donc paru, ainsi que le factum de Daniel Coxe, à l'époque de la formation de la Compagnie du Mississippi organisé par Law avec l'appuis du Régent. C'est le même esprit de jalousie et d'hostilité contre la

France qui a inspiré l'auteur. Après avoir donné une description de la Louisiane, de sa fertilité, de ses ressources, de la douceur de son climat, il s'efforce de démontrer à ses concitoyens que la puissance française ne saurait manquer de se développer au milieu de tels éléments qu'alors il ne resterait plus de sécurité pour les colonies de la Caroline et de la Virginie; que tout établissement français permanent sur les bords du Mississippi serait nuisible à la Grande Bretagne et il conclut en envitant les ministres anglais à prendre des mesures pour expulser les Français, car, ajoute-t-il "après avoir affaibli notre commerce par degré dans l'Amérique, ils finiront par détruire nos colonies."

37. Cadenas, Z. Cano (Gabriel). (pseudonyme de Gonzales de Barcia). Ensayo chronologico para la historia general de la Florida desde el año de 1512, que descubrió Ponce de Leon hasta el de 1722. Madrid, in fo. 1723.

Le nom de l'auteur que porte cet ouvrage est un nom feint, il est de Don André de Gonzalez de Barcia de l'academie espagnol, un des plus savans hommes de l'Espagne. Il a compris sous le nom de Floride tout le continent et les îles adjacentes de l'Amérique septentrionale depuis la rivière de Panuco (Tampico) qui borne le Mexique à l'Orient. Il rapporte par année tout ce qui est arrivé dans ces vastes contrées depuis 1512 jusqu'en 1722."—Charlevoix.

L'ouvrage de Barcia est écrit avec impartialité et tout en revendiquant pour ses compatriotes la découverte du pays, il se sert des relations françaises pour le décrire et en donner l'histoire. Marquette, Leclercq, Tonti, Joutel et Hennepin sont cités par lui comme des autorités auxquelles il se réfère.

L'ensayo chronologico contient en entier la relation du docteur Solis de las Meras, beau-père de Menendez qui prit le fort de la Caroline en 1563 et fut l'ordonnateur du massacre dont nous avons parlé au No. 4. Inutile de dire que la version de Meras ne ressemble en rien à celle de Laudonnière. M. Ternaux Campans nous a donné la traduction de cette relation dans l'ouvrage indiqué sous le No. 12. Des l'année 1688 les Espagnols avaient été avertis de la présence des Français à la Louisiane. Voici le passage de Barcia (p. 287) qui y a rapport:

Rafael Huitz, ingles, prisionero, aseguro al governador de la Habana, estar poblados los franceses en el seno Mexicano, afirmando avia estado en su poblacion de que daba muy larga noticia; despachole en una fragata à la Vera Cruz bien asegurado ando

cuanto al conde de la Monclava; el qual luego que recibio las cartas, llamo à don Andrés de Pes que llevo el ingles à Mexico y en su presencia y de otros, bolvio à su examinado y dijo el mismo: determinose en la juta que se hiciesse otro viage à la costa septentrionale de el seno Méxicano para reconecer un sitio à que no podian llegar navios, por el embaraço que causavan las muchas islas que tenia delante la tierra firme. El gran riesgo y dificultad del camino, y de conseguir al reconocimiento apartaba de èl, à todos los cabos; pero conforme el virrei con don Andrés de Pes, bolvio este a la Vera Cruz; traiendose el ingles; apresto una fragata de la armada de Barlavento, y con una faluca, de 18 ramos (que era la que havia de hacer el reconomiento) à 25 de marco 1688, se hizo à la vela, llevando por piloto maior à Juan Enriquez Barroto; en pocos dias llego à la baia de Movila (Mobile), donde asegurado, las fragata de los temporales, guarnicio la faluca, con 25 hombres, armas y bastimientos, llevando el ingles y salio à la mar, costeando por entre las islas, y tierra firme; à las seis dias llago al rio de la Palicado o Mississippi (que ya los franceses llamaban San Luis o Colbert), corrio 30 leguas sin hallar nada de loque el ingles decia, y reconvenido de los oficiales respondio avia contado lo que le aseguraron los franceses en Jamayca, y en la laguma de de terminos; hecharon le en prisiones porque no huiese à los indios; descanso don Andres alli dos dias; y paso al puerto donde estaba la fragata, y metiendo en ella la faluca, se hizo à la vela. Entro à 10 de maio en la Vera Cruz, traiendo diario de todo sucedido; y con el, y la descripcion que Barroto hizo, paso don Andres, a Mexico; hizose causa de pirata al ingles, y se le hecho a galeras, por este fraude.

38. Relation de la Louisiane ou Mississippi, écrite a une dame par un officier de marine. Publiée pour la première fois en Hollande dans la collection de Bernard in 12o. en 1724.

Il est probable que c'est la meme qui parut à Rouen en 1721, sous le nom du chevalier de Bonrepos et qui, plus tard, en 1768, fut reimprime sous ce titre:

Journal d'un voyage fait a la Louisiane en 1720 par M. capitaine de vaisseau du Roi, in 12o.

Le pere Charlevoix en rendant compte de cette relation, dit:

"L'auteur etait un fort honnete homme et qui ne rapporte que ce qu'il à vu ou appris sur les lieux; mais il n'a pas eu le temps de s'instruire beaucoup de la nature du pays encore moins de l'histoire de la Colonie."

On peut ajouter que cet officier de marine commandait le vaisseau sur lequel se trouvait le pere Laval, envoye par le Regent pour relever les cotes de la Louisiane et que l'officier et le religieux ne firent qu'un tres court sejour à l'Isle Dauphine et n'entrèrent meme pas dans le Mississippi.

39. Laval (le père) Jésuite. Voyage fait a la Louisiane par ordre du Roi en 1720 dans lequel sont traitées diverses matières de physique, d'astronomie, de geographie, de marine &c. fig. et cartes. Paris. in 4o. 1728.

En meme temps que le Regent envoyait Charlevoix au Canada, il chargeait le père Laval d'une mission scientifique dans le golphe du Mexique pour reconnaître le littoral de la Louisiane et de la Floride et fixer la position exacte de ses principaux points. Il s'embarqua sur une petite division navale qui portait des vivres et des colons a l'Isle Dauphine; mais une maladie epidémique qui sevit sur les equipages força le commandant à retourner en France et à ne sejourner que fort peu de temps à la Louisiane. Ce commandant a donné le journal de son voyage (Voir No. 38). Quant au pere Laval, son ouvrage est purement scientifique et depourvu d'interet sous le rapport historique.

40. Le Petit (le père) missionnaire Jésuite. Lettre écrite de la Nouvelle Orleans au mois de Juillet 1730 et adressée au père Davaugour.

Cette lettre à été inséré dans le vol. xx du Recueil des Lettres Edifiantes, edition in 12 et dans le ix. volume de la collection des voyages au nord.

Le père Le Petit raconte en detail l'attaque soudaine des Natchez contre le poste français établi pres de leur village, le massacre qui en fut la suite. Il decrit également les moeurs et les coutumes de cette nation. La lettre est pleine d'interet d'un bout à l'autre.

41. Bruzen de la Martinière Geographe du Roi d'Espagne. Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, et de l'Amerique, pour servir de suite à l'Introduction à l'histoire du Baron du Pufendorff, 2 vol. in 12o. Amsterdam. 1735.

Ce qui concerne la Louisiane se trouve dans le 2e. volume de cet ouvrage pages 387 et suivantes.

42. Catesby's (Mark). Natural history of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands in English and French revised by Edwards with Linnaen index. 2 vol. in fo. 220. Fine coloured plates. London. 1771.

La première édition de cet magnifique ouvrage remonte a 1731. Il est tres estime par les naturalistes. Les descriptions de Catesby sont fideles et comprennent les vegetaux et les animaux de la Louisiane.

43. Charlevoix (le père de) Jésuite. Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France avec le Journal historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique septentrionale. Cartes et plans. Paris. Fiffart. 1744.

Le même ouvrage, 6 vol. in 12 cartes et plans. Paris. Didot, meme date.

Pour tous ceux qui tiennent à connaitre l'histoire de la fondation et du developpement de la puissance française dans le Canada et dans la Louisiane, l'ouvrage du pere Charlevoix est on ne peut plus precieux. L'auteur à non seulement puisé aux meilleures sources, mais en outre son talent, comme écrivain est incontestable. Il est presque toujours clair, elegant et impartial. Rarement la robe du Jesuite influe sur les jugements portés par l'historien. Cette justice lui est rendue même par les anglais, qui ont été si longtemps nos rivaux dans le Nouveau monde. Avant de donner l'histoire de la nouvelle France, le père Charlevoix avait publié une histoire du Japon et l'histoire de St. Domingue. Il à été longtemps l'un des principaux rédacteurs du Journal de Trevoux et il à terminé ses travaux par la publication de l'histoire du Paraguay. La majeure partie de ce qui concerne l'histoire de la Louisiane à été traduit en anglais dans la collection intitulé:

44. The universal history from the earliest accounts of time, compiled from original authors, with a general index. 66 vol. 8o. Maps and cuts. London. 1747 to 1754.

Le volume 40e. de l'édition en anglais contient la Louisiane. Cet ouvrage à été traduit en français avec des additions sous ce titre:

45. Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à present composée en anglais par une Sociétés de gens de lettres; nouvellement traduite en français par une Société de gens de lettres, enrichie de figures et de cartes. 126 vol. 8o. Paris. 1788.

Dans cette traduction ce qui concerne la Louisiane, fait partie du 117e. volume.

46. Dumont de Montigny. Mémoires historiques sur la Louisiane contenant ce qui est arrivé de plus mémorable depuis l'année 1637 jusqu'à present (1740) avec l'établissement de la colonie

française dans cet province de l'Amerique septentrionale sous la direction de la Compagnie des Indes; le climat, la nature et les productions de ce pays, l'origine et la religion des sauvages qui l'habitent; leurs moeurs, et leurs coutumes &c. mis en ordre par M. L. L. M. (l'abbé le Mascrier), ouvrage enrichi de cartes et de figures. 2 vol. in 12. Paris 1753.

Dans la préface qui précède ces memoires l'editeur qui les a coordonnés s'exprime ainsi à leur sujet et sur le compte de l'auteur: On peut regarder ces memoires historiques comme servant de continuation au journal publié par le Sr. Boutel en 1713. L'auteur y donne d'abord une description exacte et assez étendue de cette vaste province; de là il passe à ce qui regarde le climat, la nature et les productions de ce pays. Il y traite aussi des nations sauvages qui l'habitent. On trouvera dans la seconde partie tout ce qui concerne l'établissement des français dans la Louisiane; on y lira sans doute avec plaisir quels ont été les premiers fondements et les faibles commencements de cette colonie aujour d'hui très florissante quels soins et quelles dépenses il en a coûté de puis 1716 à la Compagnie nommé d'abord Compagnie d'Occident et depuis Compagnie des Indes pour procurer à la nation une établissement utile et solide dans ce pays; on y verra les progrès successifs de la colonie et ses diverses translations de l'Isle Dauphine au vieux et nouveau Biloxi, suivies de son établissement fixe à la Nouvelle Orleans. L'auteur y raconte les guerres que les français eurent à soutenir contre les sauvages, et on s'apercevra dans son recit qu'il s'est attaché à faire connaître non seulement les postes établis à la Louisiane avant l'arrivée de la colonie française, mais encore ceux qu'elle a occupés de nouveau. Il n'a rien négligé pour rendre son ouvrage curieux et utile. Ce n'est ni un composé de descriptions chimeriques et imaginaires, ni une compilation de relations faites sur des rapports douteux. L'auteur n'écrit rien dans ces Mémoires dont il n'ait été témoin et dont il ne se soit assuré. Vingt deux ans de séjour qu'il a faits dans ce pays, au service de la France, sa patrie, lui ont donné le temps d'examiner tout par lui-même; et comme il ne s'est proposé que la vérité pour guide dans ces memoires, il croit pouvoir espérer que du moins par cet endroit ils seront recus avec quelque satisfaction de toutes les personnes sensés.

On trouvera dans Dumont les deux premiers plans de la Nouvelle Orleans, exécutés de 1718 à 1720 par La Tour et Pauge. La première enceinte ne contenait que quatre islets et était défendue

par un parapet et des fosses. La seconde avait huit islets face au fleuve sur cinq de profondeur.

47. Le Page du Pratz. Histoire de la Louisiane, contenant la découverte de ce vaste pays; sa description géographique, un voyage dans les terres; l'histoire naturelle, les moeurs, coutumes et religion des naturels, avec leurs origines, deux voyages dans le nord du nouveau Mexique dont un jusqu'à la mer du sud, orné de deux cartes et de 40 planches. Paris. 3 vol. in 12o. 1758.

Cet ouvrage à été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:

48. History of Louisiana or of the western part of Virginia by du Pratz. Maps. in 8o. London. 1774.

Le Page du Pratz à reside dans la Louisiane de 1718 a 1734. Il rend compte dans son livre des voyages qu'il à faits et de ses observations; ces dernières sont fort interessantes pour l'histoire naturelle. Toute cette partie de son ouvrage perite les eloges qui lui ont été donnés par nombre d'écrivains. Il n'en est pas de même pour la partie historique qui est d'un mediocre intérêt, car on y trove reproduit sommairement des evenements que ses devanciers avaient beaucoup mieux raconté que lui, et surtout beaucoup plus en détail. C'est donc a tort que l'auteur a donne le titre d'Histoire de la Louisiane a son livre, il eut été plus correct en l'intitulant, "Voyages à la Louisiane."

49. Jeffery's (Geographer to the King). Natural and civil history of the French dominions in North and South America. Maps and Plans. London. in fo. 1760.

27 Pages de l'ouvrage de Jeffery ont ete consacrés à la description de la Louisiane et a en resumer l'histoire. L'auteur reproduit les pretentions de Coxe auxquelles toutefois, il attache peu d'importance, car de Le Page du Pratz qu'il tire sa description, a laquelle il a joint les aventures de Belle Isle qui faillit etre mangé par les Attakapas en 1719. Bossu raconte tout au long dans son premier voyage (vol. 2, Pag. 136 a 151) cet episode curieux qui a fait croire aux premiers colons que la Louisiane renfermait des tribus antropophages. L'ouvrage de Jeffery a ete imprimé avec soin; les plans et les cartes en sont fort corrects.

50. Mémoires historiques sur la négociation de la France et de l'Angleterre, depuis le 26 mars 1761, jusqu'au 20 septembre de la même anée avec les pièces justificatives. 60 pages in 4o. Paris et Londres. (a été traduit en anglais la même anné.) 1761.

On trouvera dans ce Memoire toute la correspondance diplomatique qui a precede la paix de 1762 et qui a été échangé entre les cabinets de Versailles et de Saint James. Le Duc de Choiseul, au nom de Louis xv, expose les faits qui ont entraîné la rupture du traité d'Aix la Chapelle et en rejette la faute sur les agressions de l'Angleterre. A la suite de ce Memoire se trouvent trente pieces signés Brunswick, Choiseul, Pitt, Stanley and de Bussy, dans lesquelles on peut suivre pas à pas la negociation qui aboutit definitivement à la cession par la France à l'Angleterre du Canada et d'une partie de la Louisiane. Toutefois ces premieres negociations rompues en 1761 ne furent reprises que vers le milieu de 1762.

51. Bellin, Ingénieur de la marine. Le petit atlas maritime, Recueil de cartes et plans des quatre parties du monde en cinq volumes: 1er. Volume Amérique septentrionale et Isles Antilles; iie. Volume Amérique méridionale, Mexique, Terre Ferme, Brésil, Pérou, Chily. III eme Volume. Asie et Afrique. IV et Vme Volumes, Europe et les Etats qu'elle contient. Publié par ordre de M. le Duc de Choiseul. 5 Vol. grand in 40. Paris. 1764.

Cet atlas contient pres de 600 cartes et plans sortis du depot de la Marine; l'execution en a été faite en partie aux frais de l'Etat. Bellin a consacre plus de trente ans à ce travail et n'a rien epargné pour qu'il fut digne du Ministre sous les auspices duquel il paraissait. Le premier volume est tres precieux pour l'histoire de la Nouvelle France et de la Louisiane, car il contient plus de trente cartes et plans de ces deux anciennes possessions francaises.

Les cartes qui accompagnent l'histoire de la Nouvelle France, par le pere Charlevoix, ont ete dressés par Bellin.

52. Marigny de Mandeville. Memoire sur la Louisiane in 80. Paris. G. Despres. 1765.

Voici ce que dit Bossu a l'occasion de ce memoire qu'il m'a ete impossible de me procureer: "En 1759 M. de Marigny de Mandeville, officier de distinction, forma le dessin avec l'agrement du gouverneur de la Louisiane de faire de nouvelles decouvertes vers l'Isle de Barataria; ce fut dans cette vue qu'il travailla a une carte generale de la colonie. Cet officier a fait a ses frais la decouverte de ce pays inconnu avec un zele infatigable, qui caracterise un digne citoyen."

53. An account of the European settlements in America in six parts. 2 vol. 8o. London. Dodsley. 1765.
On attribue cet ouvrage au celebre Edmund Burke; il à été traduit en français sous le titre suivant:
54. Histoire des colonies européennes dans l'Amérique en six parties, chaque partie contenant une description de la colonie, de son étendue, de son climat &a. Paris, Nyon, 2 vol. in 12o. 1780.
Ce qui concerne la Lousiane se trouve dans le volume second, pages 35 et suivantes, de l'edition anglaise, et dans le vol. 2e. pages 37 et suivantes de l'edition francaise.
55. Bouquet's (Henry). An historical account of the expeditoin to the Ohio Indians in the year 1764, under the command of H. Bouquet. London. 1766.
Cet relation à été traduit en francais sous le titre suivant:
56. Relation historique de l'expédition contre les Indiens de l'Ohio, en 1764, par le chevalier Bouquet, traduit de l'Anglais par Dumas, enrichie de cartes et de figures, 8o. Amsterdam. 1769.
On trouvera dans le 3e. volume du voyage dans la haute Pennsylvanie, par Crevecoeur (No.....) des details fort interessants sur cette expedition, les causes qui l'avaient provoqué et les resultats qu'on obtint pour la tranquillité ulterieure de toutes les contrees Ouest des Etats Unis.
57. Bossu, capitaine dans les troupes de la marine. Nouveau voyage aux Indes occidentales, contenant une relation des differents peuples qui habitent les environs du grand fleuve St. Louis, appelé vulgairement le Mississippi, leur religion, leur gouvernement, leurs moeurs, leurs guerres, et leur commerce. Paris. Le Jay, 2 vol. in 12o. fig. 1768.
Ces voyages ont ete traduit en Anglais sous ce titre:
58. Travels through that part of North America formerly called Louisiana, by M. Bossu, captain in the French marines. Translated from the French by John Reinhols Forster, illustrated with notes relative chiefly to natural history. To which is added, by the translator, a systematic catalogue of all the known plants of North America, or a Flora America septentrionalis, together with an abstract of the most useful and necessary articles contained in Peter Loeffling's Travels. (Swedish traveller). 2 vol. in 8o. London. 1771.

Le capitaine Bossu est arrivé à la Louisiane en 1750, et il l'a parcourue pendant douze ans. Dans une série de lettres écrites à un officier de ses amis, il raconte tout ce qu'il a observé et tout ce qui est venu à sa connaissance sur la Louisiane. Cette correspondance est fort curieuse et elle intéresse par la variété des sujets qui y sont traités. La traduction de ce livre a paru, lorsque par le traité de 1762, une partie de la Louisiane, ainsi que le Canada avaient été cédés à l'Angleterre et qu'il importait de fournir au public de cette nation une connaissance exacte du pays nouvellement acquis. Le traducteur, en choisissant Bossu à, par ce fait, rendu hommage à son mérite. Il a joint aux lettres de cet écrivain une flore extraite des voyages de Loeffling et de Kalm, savants naturalistes suédois, qui avaient visité la Louisiane antérieurement à Bossu, mais dont les ouvrages n'ont pas été traduits en français.

TROISIEME EPOQUE.

Ouvrages publiés après la cession de la Louisiane
à l'Espagne et à l'Angleterre.

59. O'Reilly (Alexandre). Sa proclamation aux habitants de la Louisiane et en prenant possession au nom du Roi d'Espagne daté à la Nouvelle Orléans le 25 novembre. 1769.

Cette pièce est donnée tout au long par M. Gayerre à la fin de la première partie de son histoire de la Louisiane pages 383 et suivantes.

- 59 bis. Stork's (William). A description of east Florida with a journal kept by John Bartram of Philadelphia, botanist to his Majesty for the Floridas, upon a journey from St. Augustine up the river of St. John's as far as the lakes. Maps and plans. 4o. London. 1769.

Je fais mention de cet ouvrage parmi ceux écrits sur la Louisiane par la raison qu'il ne contient en grande partie que des descriptions qui sont communes aux deux contrées et qu'il fut rédigé par deux hommes distingués ayant une mission spéciale du gouvernement anglais de visiter le pays et d'en faire connaître les avantages à ses nouveaux propriétaires.

60. Pittman's (Capt. Philip). Present state of the European settlements of the Mississippi illustrated by plans and draughts. London. In 4o. 1770.

C'est d'après M. Warden que je donne le titre de cet ouvrage, car je n'ai pu me le procurer ni en Angleterre, ni le trouver dans les Bibliothèques de Paris.

61. Kalm's (Peter). Travels into North America containing its natural history, with the civil, ecclesiastical and commercial state of the country, translated into English by John R. Forster. Washington, 3 vol. in 8o. Cuts and maps. 1770.
L'auteur de ces voyages etait un naturaliste suédois fort distingué. Son ouvrage parut pour la première fois en 1754 et fut imprimé à Goettingue. Je n'en connais aucune traduction française.
62. Raynal. Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes. Amsterdam. 11 vol. 8o. et atlas. 1770 à 1781.
A etait traduite en anglais sous ce titre:
63. History of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies. 6 vol. in 12o. London. 1782.
La première édition de cet ouvrage célèbre publié de 1770 à 1774 en 7 volumes in 8o. et atlas contient dans le volume 7e. pages 98 à 135, un aperçu historique de la Louisiane et des reflexions sur la cession qui venait d'en être faite à l'Espagne. L'auteur les termine ainsi: "La Louisiane opprimé par ses nouveau maitres à voulu secouer un joug qu'elle avait en horreur avant même de l'avoir porté; mais repoussé par la France quand elle venait se rejeter dans ses bras, elle est retombé dans les fers qu'elle avait tenté de briser. Les cruautés qu'un gouvernement outragé n'a pas manqué d'exercer contre elle, n'ont fait qu'augmenter une haine trop antique pour s'éteindre." Plus tard, en 1781, Raynal à complete son travail en publiant en quatre volumes de supplément aux sept premiers. Ce qui concerne la Louisiane se trouve dans le volume 3e. pages 353 à 401. Dans les éditions postérieures à cette époque les deux parties ont été fondues ensemble.
64. Prévôt d'Exile (l'abbé). Histoire generales des voyages ou Nouvelle Collection de toutes les relations des voyages par mer et par terre qui ont été publiés jusqu'à présent (1746) dans les différentes langues de toute les nations connues, contenant ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable, de plus utile, et mieux avéré dans les pays où les voyageurs ont pénétré &a. enrichie de cartes géographiques, de plans et de perspectives; de figures d'animaux, de végétaux, habits antiquités &a. Paris. Didot, 16 volumes in 4o. dont un (le XVIe.) de tables. Plus un supplément par Chompré et Querlon, 3 vol. Les cartes et plans

reunis forment également 3 volumes; ensemble 21 volumes in 4o. publiés de 1746 a 1770. Cette volumineuse collection dans laquelle ont puisé tant d'écrivains, et dont on a donné des abrégés sous tant de formes, est toujours recherchée, surtout pour la beauté des gravures exécutées par d'habiles artistes sur les dessins du célèbre Cochin et pour les cartes et les plans qui sont également bien exécutés.

Ce qui concerne la Floride et la Louisiane est contenu dans le XIVe volume de cette édition; pages 415 à 458 et pages 606 à 637.

65. Ulloa (Ant. de). Noticias americanas de los territorios, climas y producciones con relacion de las petrificaciones de cuerpos marinos de las antiquidades, sobre la lengua &a. In 4o. Madrid. 1772.

Cet ouvrage remarquable a été traduit par Lefebvre de Villebrune avec de nombreuses additions sous le titre suivant:

- 65 bis. Mémoires philosophiques, historiques, physiques contenant la découverte de l'Amérique, ses anciens habitants, leur mœurs, leurs usages, leur connexion avec les nouveaux habitants, leur religion ancienne et moderne, le produit des trois règnes de la nature, et en particulier les mines leur exploitation &a. avec des observations et additions sur toutes les matières dont il est parlé dans l'ouvrage. Paris. Buisson. 2 vol. in 8o. 1787.

Don Ulloa qui a pu être un fort mauvais gouverneur de la Louisiane n'en était pas moins l'un des hommes les plus distingués de son époque, un bon observateur et un écrivain dont les productions resteront.

On trouvera dans le premier volume de ces Mémoires grand nombre d'observations sur la Louisiane, sa température, ses productions, son sol, les maladies qui y regnent &a. Don Ulloa a publié en collaboration avec George Juan, un voyage historique de l'Amérique méridionale 2 vol. in 4o. critique anglaise porte le jugement suivant sur cet ouvrage:

"Juan and Ulloa's Travels may be selected as the most interesting and satisfactory work of its kind; they are the unacknowledged source of much that has been published in other forms."

66. American husbandry, containing an account of the soil, climate, productions and agriculture of the British colonies in North America and the West Indies, by an American. 2 volumes in 8o. London. 1775.

Cet ouvrage sur l'agriculture de l'Amérique septentrionale publié sans nom d'auteur, paraît être l'un des premiers qui ont été écrits sur cette matière. Ce qui concerne la Louisiane se trouve dans le 2e. volume pages 62 a 94. La Floride se trouve dans le même volume Pages 40 a 58.

67. Champigny (le chevalier de). L'Etat présent de la Louisiane pour servir de suite à l'histoire des établissements des Européens dans les deux Indes. La Haye 80. 1776.

Le titre de cet ouvrage a été pris dans l'ouvrage de Warden. Je n'ai pu me le procurer dans les Bibliothèques de Paris.

68. Roman's (Captain Bernard). A concise natural history of East and West Florida, containing an account of the natural produce of all the southern parts of British America, in the three Kingdoms of nature, particularly the mineral and vegetable, &c., in 120. New York, Aitkin 1776.

Volney dans son Tableau du sol et du climat des Etats Unis fait l'éloge de ce livre, dont je ne connais pas de traduction française. Boucher de la Richarderie en porte le jugement suivant:

"Romans était tout à la fois un médecin éclairé et un observateur judiciaires. Il s'est attaché d'abord à décrire le climat de la Floride et les maladies qui l'affligent. Elles ont surtout leur principe dans les variations brusques de la température, qui sont plus funestes dans la Floride que dans beaucoup d'autres parties de l'Amérique, où elles ont également lieu. Il entre ensuite dans des détails sur les trois peuples indigènes de la Floride, les Chicassas, les Chactas et les Criks confédérés; il peint des plus noires couleurs leur caractère moral. La saleté, la fainéantise, le penchant pour le vol, l'orgueil le plus excessif, la vanité la plus facile à blesser, la persévérance dans les haines, l'atrocité dans les vengeances un plaisir féroce à répandre le sang, forment les traits du tableau. Les productions du sol de la Floride ont été aussi l'objet des recherches et des observations de cet écrivain."

69. Bossu. Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale contenant une collection de lettres écrites sur les lieux par l'auteur à l'un de ses amis in 80. fig. Amsterdam. 1777.

Le capitaine Bossu qui avait quitté la Louisiane en 1762, y retourna 8 ans plus tard, en 1770 et la trouva encore dans la consternation où l'avaient jeté les événements tragiques du 7 Septembre de l'année précédente.

Les officiers français victimes de la cruauté de O'Reilly avaient été les frères d'armes du capitaine Bossu, il rend compte de leurs

derniers moments et de l'impression profonde produite dans la colonie par cette sanglante execution.

On trouvera également dans ce volume la lettre du Roi Louis XV à d'Abbadie, datee de Versailles le 21 avril, 1764, dans laquelle il lui annonce que par traité particulier fait avec le roi d'Espagne le 3 novembre, 1762, il lui avait cede la Louisiane et lui ordonnait, "aussitot que le Gouverneur et les troupes de ce monarque seront arrivés vous ayez à les mettre en possession, et à retirer tous les officiers, soldats et employes à mon service."

70. Hutchin's. Topographical Description of Virginia, Pènnsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, comprehending the rivers Ohio, Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi, &c. 8o. Maps. London. 1778.

Cet ouvrage a été traduit en francais par Le Rouge, sous le titre suivant:

71. Description topographique de la Virginie, de la Pènnsylvanie, de Maryland, et de la Caroline du Nord, contenant les rivières d'Ohio, Kenhawa, Sioth, Chirokee, Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi &c. le climat, le sol, les productions, tant animales que végétales ou minérales &c. Plus un supplement qui contient le Journal de Patrice Kennedy sur la rivière de Illinos. 2 cartes, Paris, Le Rouge. 1781.

Quelques anneés apres Hutchin publia une Description de la Louisiane et de la Floride, elle se trouve dans l'ouvrage d'Imlay, pages 388 a 458. (voir No. 88.)

72. Carver's (J.) Travels through the interior parts of North America in the years 1766, 1767 and 1768 by J. Carver, captain of a company of provincial troops during the late war with France, illustrated with copper plates coloured maps. London. 1779-1781.

Ces voyages ont été traduit en francais sous ce titre:

73. Voyages dans les parties interieures de l'Amérique septentrionale pendant les années 1766, 1767, 1768 par J. Carver, capitaine d'une compagnie de troupes provinciales pendant la guerre du Canada entre la France et l'Angleterre in 8o. cartes. Paris et Yverdon. 1784.

Le capitaine Carver né dans le Connecticut, entra fort jeune dans le regiment de ce nom et y servit jusqu'en 1757, soit comme enseigne, soit comme capitaine. Il échappa par miracle au massacre que les Iroquis firent de la garrison du fort William

dans cette même année, et il raconte cet événement de la manière la plus pittoresque. Il était doué d'un esprit entreprenant et aventurier; aussi après avoir quitté le service, à la paix de 1762, résolut-il de reconnaître les régions les plus intérieures de l'Amérique et de pénétrer, s'il était possible, jusqu'à la mer Pacifique. Les relations qu'il nous a données de ses voyages et de ses observations au milieu des nations indiennes pendant un séjour de trois ans sont des plus intéressantes.

Les voyages du capitaine Carver ont été accueillis en Angleterre avec la plus grande faveur et trois éditions de son livre y ont été publiées successivement en moins de trois ans.

74. Pages (capitaine des vaisseaux du Roi). Voyage autour du monde et vers les deux pôles par terre et par mer pendant les années 1767 à 1776. Paris. Moutard, 2 vol. 80. cartes. 1782. C'est en 1767 que le capitaine Pagès visita la Louisiane dans laquelle il ne fit qu'un court séjour. On lira néanmoins, avec intérêt la description qu'il en donne, et surtout son voyage par le fleuve, de la Nouvelle Orleans à la rivière rouge. Il est curieux de comparer les moyens de transport que l'on employait alors avec ceux qui existent maintenant; l'humble pirogue creusé dans un tronc d'arbre avec les splendides palais flottants qui courent le Mississippi. Et cependant cette transportation s'est opérée en moins d'un siècle! Voici le passage auquel je fais allusion:

"Pendant mon séjour à la Nouvelle Orleans, un négociant de cette ville fit équiper une pirogue de cinq avirons en marchandise de traite pour les Indiens sauvages des Natchitoches; je saisis cette occasion et m'y étant embarqué, je partis le 4 d'août. Cette pirogue avait environ trente cinq pieds de longueur sur quatre de largeur elle était formée d'un seul gros arbre creusé; elle était faite pour aller légèrement et bien gouverner; il y avait à l'avant un excédant de bois relevé de deux pieds au moins, en forme de coquille entreouverte; cet excédent était taillé très fin, pour qu'il put écarter l'eau au pied des chutes, et fendre le courant en le remontant, sans risque d'être submergé. Nous étions huit hommes en tout, savoir: cinq rameurs, dont deux nègres, un canadien qui venait d'arriver de son pays par les terres, et deux matelots qui furent ensuite remplacés par deux sauvages, le patron de la pirogue, le propriétaire et moi. La rapidité du courant, augmentée par la quantité d'embarras qu'on rencontre ne nous permettait de faire que quatre lieux par jour."

Le capitaine Pagès arriva aux Natchitoches le 2 Septembre après un voyage de 29 jours.

75. Filson's (John). Discovery, settlement and Present State of Kentucky. Published in the year 1784. To be found in Imlay's Topographical Description of the Western territory of North America, pages 306 to 387. (See No. 88.)

L'ouvrage de Filson a été traduit en français sous le titre suivant:

76. Histoire de Kentucky nouvelle colonie à l'Ouest de la Virginie, contenant: la découverte, l'acquisition, l'établissement, la description topographique, l'histoire naturelle &c. du territoire. La relation historique du Colonel Boon, &c. avec une carte; ouvrage pour servir de suite aux lettres d'un cultivateur Américain, traduit par Parraud, 80. Paris, Buisson. 1785. *Ce livre est le premier qui ait fait connaître l'intérieur du Kentucky et les bords de l'Ohio. Le certificat suivant fut délivré à J. Filson au mois de mai, 1784.*

"We, the subscribers, inhabitants of Kentucky and well acquainted with the country, from its first settlement; at the request of the author of this book, have carefully revised it, and recommend it to the public as an exceeding good performance containing as accurate a description of our country as we think can possibly be given; much preferable to any in our knowledge extant and think it will be of great utility to the public.—Daniel Boon, Levi Todd, James Harrod."

77. Smyth's. A tour in the United States of America containing an account of the present situation of that country, &c., with a description of the Indian nations, &c. London. 2 vol. In 80. 1784.

Cet ouvrage a été traduit en français sous le titre suivant:

78. Voyage dans les Etats Unis de l'Amérique fait en 1784, contenant une description de sa situation présente, de sa population, &c. Paris Buisson. 2 vol. in 80. 1791.

L'époque indiquée par le traducteur au voyage de Smyth n'est pas exacte, car il le commença au mois d'août 1771 avant la guerre de l'Indépendance et revint en Angleterre en 1783.

On trouvera dans le chapitre 46, la relation de sa visite à la Nouvelle Orleans, où il fut accueilli par M. M. Claiborne et Fields. Smyth ne considérait pas alors le gouvernement espagnol aussi populaire parmi les Louisianais que M. Gayarre s'est efforcé de nous le montrer (voir No. 153). Voici en quels termes le voyageur s'exprime à cet égard:

"At this time so great is their desire to be under British govern-

ment, and so general, so hearty, so rooted is their detestation to that of Spain, that only a dozen or two of Britons of spirit and enterprise, would be able to wrest all that country from the Spaniards; as the inhabitants are all French, excepting the garrison, which consists only of a handful of lazy, proud, miserable Spaniards, who despise the French settlers as cordially as they themselves are hated by them in return. The number of families in the town and island of New Orleans and on the west side of the Mississippi may amount to twelve thousand at least, all of whom are thus averse to be governed by the Spaniards.'

79. Crève Coeur. (Saint Jean de). *Lettres d'un cultivateur Américain*, écrites depuis l'année 1770 jusqu'en 1786, traduites de l'Anglais et enrichies de cartes et de figures, 3e. édition. Paris. Cuchet, 3 vol. in 8o. 1787.

(La première édition publiée en 2 volumes est de 1784.)

80. Le Même. *Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans l'Etat de New York*. 3 cartes et planches. Paris. Maradan. 3 vol. 8o. au IX. 1801.

Creve Coeur, ne en France mais etabli dans les colonies anglo-Americaines depuis l'age de 16 ans, s'y etait naturalisé. Devenu proprietaire d'une habitation sur les frontieres, il fut l'une des premières victimes de la guerre de l'Independance. Less auvages alliés de l'Angleterre incendièrent ses possessions. C'est principalement aux différentes époques de cette guerre qu'il écrivit ses lettres; les anecdotes qu'il y a repandues sont autant de petits drames attendrissants que d'habiles mains pourraient mettre en oeuvre sur olusieurs de nos théatres. Quant au voyage, il peut etre considéré comme une suite des lettres d'un cultivateur Américain. La situation des personages qu'il met en scene à le même charme, les tableaux qu'il trace de la nature sauvage sont aussi riches; l'interet qu'il inspire pour un peuple qui vient de briser ses fers, est aussi vif.

Mais ce qui distingue surtout ce voyage, ce sont des details precieux sur l'etat des peuples indigenes de cette partie de l'Amérique septentrionale avant l'arrivee des Europeens, sur les causes de leur dépérissement et de leur faiblesse actuelle, sur la nature du climat ou les etablisement progressifs des Europeens les ont confinés enfin sur la revolution importante que ces progres là même ont operé dans les immenses contrés attenantes aux Etats Unis.

Aucun voyageur n'a si bien decrit ces assemblés generales ou

conseils que tiennent les sauvages pour délibérer sur leurs intérêts politiques. L'auteur qui y a assisté rapporté quelques uns des discours qu'ils y prononcèrent and l'on y admiré un eloquence agreste et sublime comme la nature." Boucher de la Richarderie.

81. Histoire et description de la Louisiane ou le Mississippi lorsqu'il était á la France.

C'est un résumé historique et descriptif de la Louisiane, dont l'auteur est anonyme; il est inséré dans un ouvrage qui a pour titre:

Voyages interessants dans différentes colonies françaises espagnols, anglaises, &a. contiennent des observations importantes relatives a ces contrées. 8o. Londres et Paris. 1788.

Boucher de la Richarderie dans le Ve. volume de sa Bibliotheque des voyages, pages 515 et suivantes, rend compte de ce livre dont le principal merite consiste dans les descriptions de Porto Rico et de Curaçao, qui y sont inserees.

82. Bartram's (Williams). Travels though North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee country, the extensive territories of the Muscogulges or Creek confederacy, and the country of the Choctaws, containing an account of the soil and natural productions of those regions, together with observations on the manners of the Indians. Embelished with copper plates, map, in 8o. Philadelphia and London. 1791-1794.

Nous avons en français une bonne traduction de cet ouvrage; elle est intitulee:

83. Voyage dans les parties sud de l'Amérique septentrionale savoir: les Carolines, les Florides, le pays des Cherokees, le vaste territoire des Muscogulges ou de la confederation Creek et le pays des Chactas; contenant des détails sur le sol et les productions naturelles de ces contrées et des observations sur les moeurs des sauvages qui les habitent. Imprimé a Philadelphie en 1791 et a Londres en 1794 et traduit de l'anglais par V. Benoist 2 vol. in 8o. carte et fig. Paris an VII. 1799. *William Bartram etait fils de John Bartram, botaniste du Roi d'Angleterre, lequel accompagnait Stork en 1764 pour explorer les contrees nouvellement acquises de l'Espagne et de la France par les Anglais, et dont j'ai indiqué le journal sous le No. 59 bis. William formé à l'ecole d'un père aussi distingué à dignement marché sur les traces; il doit etre rangé pres de Catesby, de Kalm, de Loeffling et de Robin. Son livre, aussi interessant pour la*

Louisiane que pour la Floride, est certainement l'un des meilleurs qui aient été écrits sur l'histoire naturelle de ces deux contrées dont les productions sont identiques. Boucher de la Richarderie s'exprime ainsi sur l'ouvrage de W. Bartram: "En visitant les vastes contrées dont le titre du voyage fait l'énumération Bartram s'est à singulièrement attaché à l'histoire naturelle et surtout à la botanique des pays, objet principal de ses recherches. Il ne laisse presque rien à désirer aux naturalistes sur cette dernière partie.

Quoique les recherches de ce voyageur soient principalement dirigées vers cette branche des productions de la nature il n'a pas négligé d'observer son plus bel ouvrage l'homme. Il l'a soigneusement étudié chez celles des nations sauvages où il conserve encore dans toute sa rudesse l'empreinte de ses traits primitifs."

84. Long's (J.) *Voyages and Travels of an Indian interpreter and trader describing the manners and customs of the American Indians, with a vocabulary of the Chippeway language, a list of words in the Iroquis, Mohigan, Shawnee and Esquimeaux Tongue.* In 4o. London. 1791.

Ces voyages ont été traduits en français par M. Billecocq sous le titre suivant:

85. *Voyages chez les différentes nations sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale, renfermant des détails curieux sur les mœurs, usages, cérémonies, religieuses, &c. des Cahnuagas, des Indiens des cinq et six nations &c. avec des notes et des additions intéressantes.* Paris, Proult. In 8o. an 2. 1794.

Long commença ses voyages en 1768 et les termina en 1787; à la profession de trafiquant, il joignait celle d'interprète des langues indiennes, aussi a-t-il fait suivre son voyage d'un vocabulaire de langue Chippeway que Billecocq n'a pas traduit en français. Volney dans son Tableau du climat and du sol des Etats unis le regrette en ces termes: "Il est fâcheux que le traducteur de Long se soit permis de supprimer les vocabulaires, pour quelque économie de librairie. Cet ouvrage mérite réimpression avec corrections car il est le plus fidèle tableau que je connaisse de la vie et des mœurs des sauvages et des trafiquants Canadiens." Billecocq a du reste enrichi sa traduction de notes tirés des aventures de Le Beau, de l'histoire de la Nouvelle France de Marc Lescarbot, du Journal de Charlevoix et de beaucoup d'autres ouvrages sur l'Amérique septentrionale.

86. Morse's (Jedihiah). The American geography; or a view of the Present Situation of the United States of America, &c. Illustrated with two sheet maps, 8o. London. 1792.

Cet ouvrage à été traduit en français sous le titre suivant:

87. Tableau de la situation actuelle des Etats Unis d'Amérique d'après Jedidiah Morse et les meilleurs auteurs Américains par Ch. Pichet de Genève, ouvrage enrichi de beaucoup de cartes et de tablequ. Paris. Dupont. 2 vol. 8o. 1795.

C'est le premier traité générale de géographie écrit par un Américain sur les Etats Unis et les possessions qui les avoisinaient. La description de la Basse Louisiane alors en possession de l'Espagne, est fort courte, mais en revanche, l'auteur s'est attaché à décrire d'une manière particulière tout le territoire de l'Ouest qui composait antérieurement la haute Louisiane.

88. Imlay's. Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America; to which is added Filson's history of the discovery and settlement of Kentucky, the adventures of Col. Daniel Boone, one of the first settlers; minutes of the Piankaskaw council; and the manners and customs of the Indian nations in the limits of the thirteen united provinces. 8o. Maps. London. 1792.

Cet ouvrage qui à été reimprimé plusieurs fois en angleterre, est la meilleure collection de ce qui avait été publié à cette époque sur les contrées de l'Ouest, dont l'auteur fait la description dans une série de lettres écrites du Kentucky et à la suite desquelles il donne en entier: La découverte et l'établissement du Kentucky par Filson; une description de la Louisiane par Hutchins et nombre d'autres documents fort intéressants.

89. Winterbotham's (W.) An historical, geographical and philosophical view of the United States of America and of the European settlements in America. 4 vol. 8o. Philadelphia. 1796.

L'auteur de cet ouvrage, beaucoup plus étendu que ceux de Morse et d'Imlay, indique dans sa préface le plan qu'il a suivi et la matière des quatre volumes:

"The attention of Europe in general, and of Great Britain in particular, is drawn to the new world, the editor at the request of some particular friends, undertook the task which he hopes he has in some degree accomplished in the following volumes, in affording his countrymen an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with its settlements by Europeans. The events that led to the establish-

ment and independence of the United States. The nature of their government. Their present situation and advantages together with their future prospects in commerce, manufactures and agriculture. This formed the principal design of the book, but he farther wished with this to connect a general view of the situation of the remaining European possessions in America. This has been therefore attempted and nearly a volume is dedicated to this subject."

Dans le quatrieme volume de cet ouvrage on trouvera une histoire des quadrupedes, des oiseaux et des reptiles de l'Amerique. Des planches sont jointes au texte.

QUATRIEME EPOQUE.

Ouvrages publiés depuis la rétrocession faite par l'Espagne à la France
et la cession de cette dernière aux
Etats Unis.

90. Louisiana. Account of Louisiana, being an abstract of documents in the offices of the departments of State and of the treasury, with appendix. 2 vol. in 8o. Philadelphia. 1803.
91. Address to the Government of the United States on the cession of Louisiana to the French and on the late breach of treaty by the Spaniards, drawn up by a French counsellor of State. 8o. Philadelphia. 1803.
92. De Vergennes. Mémoire historique et politique sur la Louisiane, accompagné d'un précis de la vie de ce Ministre. In 8o. Paris. Lepetit. 1802.

C'est vers 1780 que ce memoire à été presente à Louis XVI par M. de Vergennes, mais il ne fut imprimé que vingt ans après. Ce ministre, vraiment patriote, qui avait contribué par ses conseils à l'émancipation des Etats Unis engageait fortement le Roi à rentrer en possession de la Louisiane, dont il deplorait l'abandon par le honteux traite de 1762. Il est impossible de mieux lire dans l'avenir les événements qui se sont passés sous nos yeux, et si les vues de ce grand politique eussent été adoptés il est probable que la France et l'Espagne n'eussent pas perdu l'une et l'autre leurs possessions sur le continent de l'Amérique du nord. Voici la prediction de M. de Vergennes en parlant des Etats Unis:

"Cette nouvelle puissance dont la population doublera tous les

vingt ans menace déjà les colonies de l'Europe dans cette partie du monde. Son exemple, son voisinage et ses forces y amèneront dans plus ou moins de temps l'indépendance des colonies espagnoles et le commerce de l'Amérique sera perdu pour l'Europe. Si, au contraire, la Louisiane était restée au pouvoir des Français, ou si elle y rentrait, elle formerait entre le Mexique et les Etats Unis, une barrière que ces derniers craindraient de franchir et sous ce point de vue il est même de l'intérêt des autres puissances commerciales que la Louisiane soit remise à la France.

93. Baudry des Lozières. Voyage à la Louisiane et sur le continent de l'Amérique septentrionale fait dans les années 1794 à 1798; contenant un Tableau historique de la Louisiane, des observations sur son climat, ses riches productions &c. orné d'une belle carte. In 8o. Paris, Dentu. 1802.

L'auteur de cet ouvrage s'exprime ainsi dans la préface qui lui sert d'introduction:

"Ce n'est point une compilation que je donne au public, c'est le résultat des notes que j'ai prises sur le continent même et si la sévère défiance des Espagnols en 1795 et années suivantes, ne m'a pas permis de compléter mon ouvrage, j'ai été si près des objets, que je puis dire les avoir tous vus. Les circonstances me donnent donc un avantage qu'il est impossible de me disputer sans injustice."

La première partie de ce voyage renferme un aperçu de l'histoire de la Louisiane et des détails sur les guerres de 1734 à 1740 avec les Chicachas et leur chef Mingo Mastabe. Elle contient également le récit de la tragédie du mois de septembre 1769. L'ouvrage est terminé par deux vocabulaires Sauvages-Français.

Le voyage de Baudry de Lozières ne peut manquer d'être intéressant, puisque les événements qui y sont rapportés ont été écrits sous la dictée de témoins oculaires ou recueillis par la tradition des habitants de la Louisiane.

On trouvera ci-après sous le No. 99, l'indication d'un second ouvrage publié par le même auteur.

94. Milfort (le Général). Mémoire ou coup d'oeil rapide sur les différents voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Creek. In 8o. Paris. 1802.

C'est en 1775 que Milfort quitta la France pour venir dans les Etats Unis. Il pénétra dans l'intérieur de la Floride et se fixa parmi les Creeks dont il devint Tastanegy, ou grand chef de guerre. Il raconte dans ce volume les événements auxquels il prit

part pendant les vingt annés qu'il demeura avec les diverses tribus indiennes, ses courses et ses observations. Bien qu'il y ait peu d'ordre dans ses narrations, et qu'elles paraissent romanesques, on les lit cependant avec interet parcequ'elles renferment une peinture assez fidele de la vie sauvage.

95. Dubroca. Itinéraire des Francais dans la Louisiane accompagné de la carte de G. de l'Isle. In 12o. Paris. 1802.
Petit livre publie à l'époque de la retrocession de la Louisiane par l'Espagne à la France et ne contenant absolument rien de nouveau.
96. Berquin Duvalon. Vue de la colonie espagnole du Mississippi ou des provinces de la Louisiane et de la Floride occidentale en l'année 1802, par un observateur résidant sur les lieux. Ouvrage accompagné de deux cartes in 8o. Paris. 1803.
Ce livre écrit par un homme qui avait su bien mal reconnaître l'hospitalité louisianaise, n'est qu'un long denigrement du pays et de ses habitants, il ne pouvait provenir que d'un esprit méchant et d'un mauvais coeur.
97. Volney. Tableau du climat et du sol des Etats Unis d'Amérique, suivi d'éclaircissements sur la Floride, sur la colonie française au Scioto, sur quelques colonies Canadiennes et sur les sauvages, avec deux planches et deux cartes. 2 vol. 8o. Paris. 1803.
Cet ouvrage à été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:
98. View of the climate and soil of the United States of America with some accounts of Florida, the Indians and vocabulary of the Miama-Tribe. 8o. 1804.
La reputation de Volney est trop bien etablie et son talent trop generalement reconnu pour qu'il soit necessaire de faire suivre l'indication de son livre par aucune reflexion; il doit etre placé au premier rang parmi les ouvrages à consulter par les Louisianais.
99. Baudry des Lozières. Second voyage à la Louisiane pour faire suite a celui fait dans les années 1794 a 1798. Paris. 2 vol. in 8o. 1803.
Contient une histoire du General Grondel qui avait commandé long temps à la Louisiane et pris part à la guerre des Chicachas. Le surplus de set ouvrage renforme des notes sur divers sujets et qui servent d'appendice au premier voyage publié par l'auteur. (Voir No. 93.)
100. Anonyme. Mémoires sur la Louisiane et la Nouvelle Orléans

accompagnés d'une dissertation sur les avantages que le commerce de l'Empire doit tirer de la stipulation faite par l'art. VI. du Traité de cession du 30 avril, 1803, suivi d'une traduction de diverses notes sur cette colonie, publiés aux Etats Unis peu de temps apres la ratification du Traite. In 8o. Paris. Ballard. 1804.

101. Account of Louisiana, being abstracts of documents transmitted to President Jefferson and by him laid before Congress. 8o. 1804.

102. Perrin du Lac. Voyages dans les deux Louisianes et chez les nations sauvages du Missouri, par les Etats Unis, l'Ohio et les provinces qui les bordent en 1801, 1802 et 1803, avec un aperçu des moeurs, des usages, du caractère et des coutumes religieuses et civiles des peuples de ces diverses contrées. 8o. avec carte. Lyon. 1805.

C'est principalement la haute Louisiane et les populations qui l'habitaient alors que l'auteur s'est attaché à decrire. Son livre abonde en details interessants sur les Etats de l'Ouest, sur les postes de Ste. Genevieve, de St. Louis et de St. Charles. Quant à la Basse Louisiane, il n'y à fait qu'un tres court séjour et ce qu'il en dit est renferme dans quelques pages seulement. Perrin du Lac etait un observateur judicieux et impartial.

103. Michaux (F. A.) Voyages a l'ouest des monts Alleghanys, dans les états de l'Ohio, du Kentucky et du Tennessee, et retour a Charlestown par les hautes Carolines, contenant &a. enterpris en 1802 sous les auspices de M. Chaptal, ministre de l'Intérieur, carte in 8o. Paris. 1804.

Cet ouvrage a ete traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:

- 104 Travels to the Westward of the Alleghany mountains. 8o. map. 1805.

Ainsi que le titre l'indique ce voyage à été fait dans la partie Ouest des Etats Unis et principalement dans la vallee de l'Ohio, mais comme l'auteur à décrit les arbres forestiers qui se trouvent également dans la Louisiane et qu'il jouit d'une grande reputation comme naturaliste, j'ai pense que ce livre ne serait pas déplacé parmi ceux qui peuvent interesser les Louisianais.

105. Robin (C. C.) Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane, de la Floride occidentale et dans les iles de la Martinique et de St. Domingue pendant les années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 et 1806 contenant de nouvelles observations sur l'histoire naturelle la

géographie, les mœurs, l'agriculture, le commerce, l'industrie et les maladies de ces contrées, particulièrement sur la fièvre jaune et les moyens de les prévenir. En outre contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus intéressant relativement à l'établissement des Anglo-Américains à la Louisiane, suivis de la Flore Louisianaise avec une carte nouvelle. Paris. F. Buisson. 3 vol. in 8o. 1807.

Le docteur Robin que M. Querard dans sa France litteraire à confondu avec son homonyme l'Abbe Robin, etait tout à la fois un litterateur et un naturaliste distingué. Les voyages dont je donne le titre en font foi. On y trouvera reunis une foule d'observations judicieuses ecrites avec elegance et qui decèlent le philosophe, le savant et l'historien.

Le premier volume de cet ouvrage à été consacré aux Antilles, mais les deux autres le sont entièrement à la Louisiane. Le resumé historique contenu dans les chapitres 41 à 45 est tracé de main de maitre et avec une impartialité remarquable. L'auteur termine le compte rendu de la domination espagnols par les reflexions suivantes:

"Pendant les trente trois annés que ce pays fut sous la domination espagnole, les mœurs francaises ont toujours fait le caractère dominant de la colonie et les espagnols s'y sont françisés plutot que les français ne se sont espagnolisés. Les Gouverneurs eux-memes, ainsi que les commandants sous eux, ont adopté les mœurs francaises et ont, eux ou leurs enfans, epousé des francaises. La langue espagnol etait si peu usité et la langue française adopté si generalement que la plupart des français nés dans cette colonie, même avant et pendant la domination espagnole, n'ont pas eu besoin d'apprendre cette langue."

La Flore Louisianaise qui occupe la moitié du troisieme volume de cet ouvrage à été traduite en anglais sous le titre suivant:

106. Flozula Ludoviciana, Flora of Louisiana by Robin and Rafinesque. 8o. 178 pages. New York. 1817.
107. Henzy's (Alexander). Travels and adventures in Canada and the Indian territories, between the years 1760 and 1776 in two parts in 8o. New York. 1809.

Ces voyages entrepris à la même époque que ceux de Carver et de Long, renferment beaucoup de details sur les tribus qui habitaient alors la haute Louisiane. L'auteur raconte plusieurs scenes de la guerre de 1761 entre les Indiens alliés des français et les anglais.

108. Schultz's Jun (Christian). Travels on an island voyage through

the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee and through the territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi and New Orleans, performed in the years 1807 and 1808, with maps and plates. 2 vol. in 8o. New York. 1810.

Le second volume de cet ouvrage écrit en forme de lettres, à été consacré par l'auteur, un Américain, à la description de la Louisiane.

109. Pike's (Major Montgomery). Account of an expedition to the sources of the Mississippi and through the western part of Louisiana during the years 1805, 1806 and 1807. Philadelphia. 8o. or London 4o. with maps. 1810.

A été traduit en français par Breton sous ce titre:

110. Voyage au nouveau Mexique à la suite d'une expédition ordonnée par le Gouvernement des Etats Unis pour reconnaitre les sources des rivières Arkansas, Kansas, La Plate et Pierre Jaune dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane occidentale, précédé d'une excursion aux sources du Mississippi pendant les années 1805, 1806 et 1807, orné d'une carte de la Louisiane en trois parties. Paris. d'Hautel. 2 vol. in 8o. 1812.

Avant cette expédition ordonné par le Gouvernement des Etats Unis, dont la direction fut confié au Major Pike par le General Wilkinson, on n'avait que des notions tres vagues et tres contradictoires sur la source du Mississippi. C'est à cet officier qui à rempli sa mission avec autant d'intelligence que de courage, que nous sommes redevables d'avoir fixé les sources et le cours du grand fleuve d'une manière plus précise. Vingt ans apres l'exploration du major, M. Beltram qui visita aussi les sources du Mississippi et qui probablement, n'avait pas lu la relation, de Pike, crut de bonne foi, en avoir fait la découverte, dont il rend compte dans l'ouvrage portant le No. 134.

111. Stodart's (Major Amos). Sketches historical and descriptive of Louisiana. Philadelphia. 8o. 1812.
112. Lee's (Henry). Memoirs of the war in the southern department of the United States. Philadelphia. 2 vol. in 8o. 1812.
113. Lewis's and Clark's (Captains). History of the expedition under the command of ——— to the source of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the river Colombia to the Pacific Ocean, performed during the years 1804, 1805 and 1806. Philadelphia. 2 vol. 8o. 1812.

Le recit des l'expedition des capitaines Lewis et Clark fait par P. Gass, à été traduit en français par Lallement, sous le titre suivant:

114. Voyage des capitaines Lewis and Clark depuis l'embouchure du Missouri, jusqu'à l'entrée de la Colombia dans l'océan pacifique, fait dans les années 1804, 1805 et 1806 par ordre du Gouvernement des Etats Unis contenant &a. in 8o. carte. 1810. pacifique, fait dans les années 1804, 1805 et 1806 par ordre du Gouvernement des Etats Unis contenant &a. in 8o. Carte. Paris. Arthur Bertrand. 1810.
 115. Ellicott's (Andrew). Journal for determining the boundary between the United States and the possessions of his Catholic Majesty in America. Philadelphia. 4 maps. 1814.
 116. Breckenridge (H. M.) View of Louisiana 8o. Pittsburg. 1814.
 117. The same. Journal of a voyage up the river Missouri. 12o. Baltimore. 1815.
- L'un et l'autre de ces ouvrages me sont inconnus.*
118. Anonyme. Defaite de l'armée anglaise commandé par Sir Edward Pakenham, a l'attaque du 8 Janvier, 1815, de la ligne de retranchements de l'armée Américaine commandé par le General Jackson. 8o. Gravures. Nouvelle Orléans. 1815.
 119. Lacarrière Latour's (Major A.) Historical memoirs of the war in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814, 1815, written originally in French and translated for the author by H. O. Nugent, with an atlas. Philadelphia in 8o. 1816.

C'est memoires ont été dédiés par l'auteur au General Jackson, comme un temoignage de reconnaissance et d'admiration dont il se faisait l'organe pour ses concitoyens. "The voice of the whole nation has spared me the task of showing how much of these important results are due to the energy, ability and courage of a single man." On pourra juger de l'importance de ces Memoires pour l'histoire de la Louisiane, par l'extrait suivant de la preface du major Latour: "I have in this work endeavoured to relate in detail, with the utmost exactness and precision the principal events which took place in the course of this campaign. I have related facts as I myself saw them, or as they were told me by credible eye witnesses. I do not believe that through the whole of this narrative I have swerved from the truth in a single instance; if, however, by one of those unavoidable mistakes to which every man is subject I have involuntarily misstated or omitted to state

any material circumstance, I shall be ready to acknowledge my error whenever it shall be pointed out to me."

C'est dans les memoires du major Latour, qu'il faut lire la relation de la memorable campagne qui valut au General Jackson le titre de Sauveur de la Louisiane.

120. Brown's (Samuel R.) The Western Gazetteer or Emigrant's Directory, containing a geographical description of the Western States and Territories, viz: The States of Kentucky, Indiana, Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi and the territories of Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Michigan and North Western etc. Auburn. New Ycrk. 8o. 1817.
Ce guide, a l'usage des emigrants dans l'ouest des Etats Unis, est le premier, je crois, qui ait ete publié. Il est composé d'une foule de renseignements aussi exacts q'utiles.
121. Darby (W.) A geographical description of Louisiana. 8o. New York. 1817.
122. Bradbury's (J.) Travels in the interior of America in the years 1809, 1810, 1811, including a description of upper Louisiana together with the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Tennessee, in 8o. Liverpool. 1817.
123. Birkbeck's (Morris). Notes on a journey in America from the coast of Virginia to the territory of Illinois. In 8o. Map. London. 1818.
124. The same. Letters from Illinois in 8o. London. 1818.
Ce dernier ouvrage à été traduit en-français sous le titre suivant:
125. Lettres sur les nouveaux établissements qui se forment dans les parties occidentales des Etats Unis d'Amérique. in 8o. Cartes. 1819.
126. Bradshaw Fearson's (Henry). Sketches of America. A narrative of a journey of five thousand miles through the eastern and the western States of America; contained in eight reports addressed to the thirty-nine English families by whom the author was deputed in June, 1817 etc., with remarks on Birkbeck's notes and letters. 8o. London. 1818.
127. Warden (D. B.) A statistical, political and historical account of the United States of North America. Edinburg. Constable. 3 vol. 8o. Maps and plates. 1819.
Le docteur Warden a traduit lui meme son livre en francais sous le titre suivant:
128. Description Statistique, historique et politique des Etats Unis. Paris. Rey et Gravier. 5 vol. in 8o. avec figures et cartes. 1820.

La publication de ce livre remarquable ouvrit au Dr. Warden les portes de l'Institut de France, dont il devint membre à cette époque. Il continua ses travaux littéraires et donna quelques années plus tard l'ouvrage suivant, que sa mort survenue en 1845, l'empêcha de terminer.

129. L'art de vérifier les dates ou chronologie historique de l'Amérique. Paris. 10 volumes in 8o. 1826 à 1845.
Ouvrage rempli de recherches précieuses et que l'auteur aurait sans doute traduit en anglais s'il n'eut été enlevé aussi prématurément.
130. Seybert's (Adam). Statistical annals. View of the population, commerce, navigation, fisheries, public lands. Post-office establishment, revenues, mint, military and naval establishments, expenditures, public debt, and sinking fund of the United States of America founded on official documents commencing on the 4th of March, 1789, and ending on the 20th of April, 1818. Large 4o. Philadelphia. 1818.
131. Schoolcraft's (H.) Narrative Journal of Travels from Detroit North West through the great chain of American lakes to the sources of Mississippi river in 1820. Albany in 8o. Maps. 1821.
132. Montulé (Ed. de). Voyage en Amérique, en Italie, en Sicile et en Egypt pendant les années 1816 à 1819. 2 vol. in 8o. et atlas. Paris. 1821.
Les lettres XII à XXe. du 2e. volume de cet ouvrage sont écrites de la Louisiane et sont consacrés par l'auteur à la description de la vallée du Mississippi.
133. Adam's (John Quincy). The duplicate letters, the Fisheries and the Mississippi. Documents relating to transactions and the negotiations of Ghent. Collected and published by J. Q. A. one of the commissioners of the United States at that negotiation in 8o. Washington. 1822.
134. Beltram (J. C.) La découverte des sources du Mississippi et de la rivière sanglante. Description du cours entier du Mississippi. Nouvelle Orléans. 8o. 1823.
Cet ouvrage a été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:
135. Pilgrimage in Europe and America, leading to the discovery of the sources of the Mississippi, Bloody river and Ohio. 2 vol. 8o. Plates. 1828.
Le major Pike pendant les années 1805 à 1807 avait déjà reconnu les sources du Mississippi et parcouru les contrées qui le furent bien plus tard par M. Beltram. C'est donc à tort que ce voyageur s'attribue la découverte des sources du grand fleuve. Toutefois, son livre écrit avec un peu trop d'emphase meridionale, n'en est

pas moins interessant par les episodes et les descriptions qu'il y a semes.

136. Keating's (William). Narrative of an expedition to the source of St. Peter's river, Lake Winnepeek, lake of the woods, etc., performed in the year 1823 by order of J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the command of Stephen H. Long. 2 volumes in 8o. London. 1825.

Lahontan est le premier qui ait remonté le rivière St. Pierre a laquelle il avait donné le nom de Rivière longue. On crut pendant longtemps que sa relation etait fabuleuse et que les grandes lacs interieurs de Winnepeek, des Bois et autres, n'existaient que dans son imagination. L'expédition du major Long a prouvé que Lahontan n'avait pas toujours altéré la vérité.

137. Collot (Général Victor). Voyage dans l'Amérique septentrionale, ou Description des pays arrosés par le Mississippi, l'Ohio, le Missouri et autres rivières affluentes, &c. avec un atlas de 36 cartes, plans, vues et figures. 2 vol. 8o. Paris. Arthus Bertrand. 1826.

(Une première édition avait paru en 1804.)

Le Général Collot vint pour la première fois en Amérique a l'époque de la guerre de l'indépendance, il servait alors dans l'Etat major du maréchal Rochambeau.

Plus tard, en 1796, il entreprit de visiter les diverses parties des Etats Unis et de la Louisiane; l'ouvrage ci-dessus indiqué est le resultat de ses voyages. Le second volume est consacré en entier à la haute et Basse Louisiane sur lesquelles le Général donne les details les plus étendus.

138. Martin's (F. X.) The history of Louisiana. New Orleans. B. Levy. 2 vol. in 8o. 1827.

Le Juge Martin est le premier écrivain qui ait publié une histoire de la Louisiane en anglais. Pour un français, la tâche etait difficile, aussi l'auteur ne la remplit-il pas à la satisfaction générale. Son style est dur, barbare et composé d'expressions moitié anglaises moitié françaises sous le rapport de l'exactitude, il laisse également beaucoup à désirer. C'est l'opinion du Dr. Monette qui s'exprime ainsi sur son compte: Martin is so often in error in relation to dates that his authority must yield when it conflicts with other sources of information.

139. Holmes's (Dr. Abiel). Annals of America from 1492 to 1828; the second edition enlarged. 2 thick vol. 8o. Cambridge. 1829.

La chronologie du Dr. Holmes est un ouvrage capital, tant sous le rapport de l'exactitude, que sous celui de l'impartialité dont l'auteur fait preuve dans ses Jugements.

140. Barbe Marbois. Histoire de la Louisiane et de la cession de cette colonie par la France aux Etats Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale précédé d'un discours sur la constitution et le gouvernement des Etats Unis avec une carte relative à l'étendue des pays cédés in 8o. Paris. Didot. 1829.
Cet ouvrage à été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:
141. History of Louisiana particularly of the cession of that colony to the United States. 8o. 1830.
L'ouvrage de M. Barbe Marbois n'est interessant que sous le rapport du compte rendu des negotiations auxquelles il avait pris part et des pieces qui l'accompagnent. Quant au résumé historique qui est placé en tête du livre, il laisse beaucoup à desirer et est peu en rapport avec le talent de cet homme d'Etat.
142. Armroyd's (G.) A connected view of the whole internal navigation of the United States, natural and artificial, present and prospective; with maps and profiles, etc. in 8o. Philadelphia. 1830.
Cet important ouvrage contient de nombreux documents sur les cours d'eau et les canaux de la Louisiane.
143. Murat. (Achille). Lettres sur les Etats Unis, écrites á un de ses amis d'Europe. Paris in 18o. 1830.
L'auteur de ces lettres à résidé longtemps dans la Floride ou il était venu chercher un refuge contre la proscription. Ce qu'il écrivait il y à vingt cinq ans est aussi neuf et surtout aussi vrai que s'il l'avait publié depuis peu. Il serait difficile de reunir en moins de pages plus d'observations exactes sur les Etats Unis en général, mais principalement sur leurs parties sud, c'est à ce dernier titre que nous les mentionons ici parmi les ouvrages sur la Louisiane. Ce petit livre pourrait servir d'Epítome à tous ceux qui, sans compulser un grand nombre de volumes, voudraient acquerir des renseignements précis sur les moeurs, les habitudes et la manière de vivre des diverses fractions de la population de l'Union, aussi bien que sur les institutions politiques qui en relient toutes les parties entre elles.
144. Flint's (Th.) A condensed Geography and History of the Western States of the Mississippi Valley. 2 vol. in 8o. Cincinnati. 1832.
145. Poussin (Major Guillaume Tell.) Travaux d'améliorations interieures projetés ou exécutés par le Gouvernement général des

Etats Unis d'Amérique de 1824 a 1831 in 4o. et atlas. In Fo. Paris. 1834.

Le major Poussin, qui depuis representa la France aux Etats Unis fut attaché d'abord comme aide de camp a la personne du General Bernard et l'accompagna dans ses diverses inspections des points militaires de l'Union. La lettre suivante du Général precede l'ouvrage du major et en est l'apreciation: "J'ai lu avec le plus vif interet l'histoires des grands travaux auxquels vous et moi avons été associés pendant quinze ans et qui, sur l'autre hemisphere, attestent l'esprit d'entreprise qui caracterise la nation Americaine. La maniere dont vous avez traité ce beau sujet, sous les rapports politiques, commerciaux et militaires et sous ceux de l'art, rendra votre ouvrage, non seulement en France, mais encore en Amérique, digné de l'attention des hommes eclairés."

146. Hall's (James). Notes on the Western States containing descriptions, sketches of their soil, climate, resources, and scenery. Philadelphia. In 12o. 1838.

147. Vail (Eugene). citoyen Americain. Notice sur les Indiens de l'Amérique du nord, ornée de quatre portraits colories dessinés d'après nature et une carte. Paris Arthus Bertrand. In 8o. 1840.

Dans la préface de son ouvrage, l'auteur en expose ainsi le plan: "Afin de procéder avec quelque methode nous classons notre travail de façon a toucher légèrement, car la statistique nous fait faute presque entierement pour cette époque de vague et d'incertitude ou l'épée remplissait un plus grand rôle que la plume, aux questions Suivantes; savoir:

La condition et l'occupation du territoire par les tribus sauvages lors du premier débarquement des premiers pionniers Européens. D'après quel droit et sous quel pretexte ils s'emparerent du sol: Quelles etaient les relations existant entre ceux-ci et les Indiens à l'époque de la declaration d'indépendance des Etats Unis; car, et nous l'avouons tout d'abord, nous avons principalement à coeur d'ecarter l'idé injuste et erroné avancé par quelques écrivains, que les ésules moyens employés par nous pour déplacer les Indiens aient été la bayonette, pour l'expulsion des uns, et l'influence diaboliques des liquers fortes pour detruire les autres tandis que au contraire, nous ne craignons nullement de mettre au grand jour les procedés mis en usage jusqu'a ce jour par le Gouvernement Americain pour diminuer autant que faire se peut la rigueur du traitement que les Indiens ont necessairement eu à

subir; comme consequence de la civilisation et de leur caractere indomptable.

Enfin nous essaierons de decrir leurs moeurs, et apres avoir indiqué avec precision les efforts de nos philantropes et les immenses sacrifices faits par la nation pour rendre justice à cette classe malheureuse d'hommes nous laisserons à nos lecteurs à en deduire eux mêmes si, avec de tels elements, il etait possible de faire mieux. La carte qui accompagne cet ouvrage, indique la position et le nom des diverses tribus sauvages qui occupaient l'Amérique du Nord, depuis l'anné 1600 à l'anné 1800, et elle ne peut manquer d'interessar les Louisianais dont la contré renfermait un si grand nombre de peuplades.

148. Spark's (of Cambridge). Life of de la Salle. Boston. 8o. 1844. La reputation de M. Sparks comme Biographe est solidement etablie par les divers ouvrages qu'il à publié sur les hommes éminents des Etats Unis, aussi je regrette vivement de n'avoir pu me procurer l'ouvrage dont je donne le titre ci dessus d'apres Mr. Falconer, car je ne doute pas, qu'il n'ait traité la vie de La Salle avec la même hauteur de vues et avec autant d'habilité que celle de Washington.

149. Falconer (Thomas). On the discovery of the Mississippi and the South Western Oregon and North Western boundary of the U. S. with a translation from the original M.S. of memoirs relating to the discovery of the Mississippi by de la Salle and Tonti. 8o. Map. London. 1844.

L'ouvrage de M. Falconer est du plus haut intérêt pour l'histoire de la Louisiane. L'extrait suivant de la préface de l'auteur servira tout à la fois à faire connaître son livre et celui de M. Sparks:

"When in Paris in 1843, I collected some material to serve for an account of the discoveries of La Salle, and a friend was kind enough to give me copies of the documents which had been obtained from the archives of the marine. In the course of the present year a 'Life of La Salle,' written by Mr. Sparks of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been published; and this work renders any similar one needless. The documents I have translated which I hope will hereafter be published in their original language, rendered an abstract of La Salle's Journey necessary in order to explain their value, but as these journeys have been the foundation of contested claims to extensive territories in North America; I enlarged my first sketch and have traced their consequences in the negotiations that have occurred respecting the western boundary of the United States."

Voici la note des documents que l'on trouvera dans l'ouvrage de Mr. Falconer:

La geneologie l'Iberville, gentilhomme canadien, et de Bienville son frère, les deux fondateurs de la colonie de la Louisiane.

Une relation signé Tonti, de la route tenue par lui depuis la rivière des Illinois au golfe de Mexique, en descendant le Mississippi.

Un mémoire de Cavalier de la Salle, relatif à l'entreprise proposé au Mis. de Seignelay sur une province de Mexique.

Les lettres patentes donnés par le Roi de France au Sr. de la Salle le 12 mai 1678.

Un mémoire du Sr. de la Salle adressé au Mis. de Seignelay dans lequel il lui rend compte de la découverte du Mississippi faite par lui d'après les ordres du Roi. Le testament de La Salle.

Mémoire envoyé en 1693 sur la découverte du Mississippi et les nations voisines, par M. de La Salle depuis l'année 1678 jusqu'à l'époque de sa mort et continué par le Sr. de Tonti jusqu'à l'année 1691.

Ce dernier mémoire est signé Hy. de Tonty. C'est probablement par ce document officiel et authentique l'éditeur de l'ouvrage indiqué sous le No. 20 à pris le canevas sur lequel on lui reproche d'avoir si bien brodé.

150. Monett's (John W.) History of the discovery and settlement of the Mississippi by the three great European powers, Spain, France and Great Britain; and the subsequent occupation, settlement, and extension of civil government by the United States until the year 1846. New York. Harper. 2 vol. gr. 80. 1846.

Sous ce titre, c'est une histoire complete de la Louisiane que nous a donné le Dr. Monett. Le plan de son ouvrage est d'une simplicité admirable et il l'a exécuté avec autant de fidélité que de talent. Nous traduirons la partie de sa préface dans laquelle il expose la marche qu'il a suivie:

"Le plan de cet ouvrage est simple, il résulte de l'ordre dans lequel se sont avancés les diverses colonies pour occuper les contrées qui forment les Etats Unis actuels.

"Les Espagnols ayant été les plus anciens pionniers de la vallée du Mississippi, leurs diverses expéditions fournirent le sujet d'un premier livre.

"Les Français, a leur tour, venus après les agressifs Espagnols, ont été les explorateurs pacifique et les premiers colons permanents qui ont occupé et établi les rives du Mississippi. Le récit de

leurs découvertes et l'histoire de leur colonie seront le sujet d'un second livre.

"La Grande Bretagne, la jalouse rivale de la France, etendit ensuite ses colonies dans les contrées de l'Ouest, ne cessant d'envier sur les possessions françaises jusqu'au moment où maîtresse du Canada, elle s'approprie la moitié de la partie Est de la grande vallée du Mississippi et y joignit les Florides.

"Les progrès de ses colonies à l'ouest des Alleghany, ses combats avec les Français et leurs alliés indigènes, son occupation subse-
quente du pays, seront le sujet du troisième livre.

En 1763 lorsque la Louisiane fut démembrée et que l'Angleterre se fut assurée la possession de toute la partie Est à l'exception de l'île d'Orléans, l'Espagne acquit toute la partie de l'Ouest y compris cette dernière cédée par la France. La Louisiane se trouva donc, partagée entre ces deux puissances. L'Espagne rentrée en possession des Florides en 1781, les conserva ainsi que la Louisiane jusqu'à la fin de 1803, époque à laquelle elle la rétrocéda à la France.

L'acquisition et l'occupation par les Espagnols de ces vastes provinces, leur gouvernement et la cessation de leur pouvoir, fourniront la matière du quatrième livre.

"Peu de temps après les États Unis déclarèrent leur indépendance, qui fut reconnue par l'Angleterre, ils se trouvèrent ainsi substituer aux droits réclamés par elle sur le territoire à l'Est du Mississippi et qui s'étendait au sud jusqu'aux limites particulières de la Floride. Les États Unis formèrent de nouveaux états à l'ouest des Alleghany et étendirent de plus en plus leur autorité. Peu à peu ils éloignèrent les indigènes de la partie Est du Mississippi; et finalement, par négociations ou par traités, ils s'annexèrent toutes les provinces espagnoles situées à l'ouest du fleuve jusqu'au Rio del Norte.

L'extension des établissements, la fondation des institutions civiles, l'accroissement de la population, les guerres et les traités avec les tribus indigènes, les acquisitions de territoire, les progrès de l'agriculture, des manufactures et du commerce aidés par la puissance de la vapeur, formeront la matière du cinquième livre."

Dans la partie de l'ouvrage du Dr. Monett relative à la domination française à la Louisiane, on peut regretter qu'il n'ait pris pour guides que des auteurs ayant écrit en anglais tels que Martin, Bancroft, Stodard, Darby.

Il a pu s'apercevoir combien le premier était inexact en le comparant avec le second, mais s'il eut consulté Charlevoix il se fut

convaincu en outre que presque tous les matériaux qui ont servi aux quatre écrivains que nous venons de citer se trouvaient réunis dans l'histoire de la Nouvelle France.

151. Bunner's (T.) History of Louisiana from its first discovery and settlement to the present time. New York. In 8o. 1846. *Ce résumé historique fait partie de la collection Harper. Il est écrit avec talent.*
152. Bancroft's. History of the United States from the discovery of the American continent to the declaration of Independence. Royal 8o. 1847. *L'ouvrage de M. Bancroft est trop bien connu des lecteurs Louisianais et surtout trop bien apprécié par eux pour que des réflexions quelconques de ma part, ajoutent le moins du monde à la réputation méritée de cet historien. Il est probable que l'édition que j'ai sous les yeux n'est pas la première qui ait été publiée de cet important ouvrage.*
153. Gayarré (Charles). Histoire de la Louisiane. 2 vol. in 8o. Nouvelle Orléans. 1846-1847.
154. Le même. Pour servir de suite au précédent ouvrage. History of Louisiana. The Spanish domination. 1 fort volume 8o. New York. 1854. *M. Gayarre débuta comme historien en 1830, par la publication de deux volumes intitulés: Essais historiques sur la Louisiane. Il était fort jeune alors et il manquait tout à la fois de matériaux et d'expérience. Mais depuis cette époque, M. Gayarre, entré dans la carrière politique de son pays y à occupé un poste important. Il à été à même de puiser dans les archives de l'Etat, et de plus, il a fait à Paris un assez long séjour pendant lequel il à pris connaissance des nombreux documents sur la Louisiane contenus dans les dépôts de la marine et à la Bibliothèque impériale. Il les à utilisés dans la première partie de son ouvrage qui renferme un grand nombre de pièces inédites et importantes. On peut regretter toutefois que l'auteur ait passé aussi rapidement sur l'époque de la première exploration de la Louisiane par Marquette et La Salle; une page de son livre est à peine consacré au premier et un vingtaine aux deux expéditions du second. Cependant M. Gayarre dit dans la préface qui sert d'introduction à son ouvrage: "Comme écrivain je me suis complètement effacé et j'ai cherché à faire raconter l'histoire par les contemporains eux-mêmes." Une plus belle occasion d'exécuter cette promesse ne pouvait s'offrir à M. Gayarre, en mettant sous les yeux de ses lecteurs le récit tout à la fois si simple et si naïf du père Marquette*

ou quelques extraits du journal du veridique Joutel. Mais bien qu'il eut à sa disposition outre ces deux relations celles des pères Zenobe, Anasthase et Hennepin, M. Gayarre à donne la preference à l'ouvrage publié sous le nom de Tonti. Ce choix n'est pas heureux, car personne n'ignore que cette relation à été tellement amplifié et embellie par l'editeur que c'est à grand peine si on peut distinguer le vrai du faux. Aussi les discours que M. Gayarre met dans la bouche de la Salle et de Mansolea sont ils ornés des mêmes fleurs de rhetorique que ceux de Tonti. En général, le livre de M. Gayarre est un tableau fidèle et animé des evenements qui se sont passés à la Louisiane depuis sa découverte jusqu'à la cession qui en fut faite à l'Espagne en 1762, 1769; mais il est facheux qu'il se soit laissé un peu trop aller à la declamation, à l'emploi de l'hyperbole et au dénigrement d'une époque qui à produit les plus beaux genies de la France.

La seconde partie de l'ouvrage de M. Gayarre ecrite en anglais, est entièrement consacré à l'histoire de la domination espagnole à la Louisiane (1770 a 1802). Nous laisserons l'auteur nous dire lui-même dans quel esprit elle a ete ecrite:

"I must call the attention of the reader to a singular anomaly which is—that with all the foul abuses and tyrannical practices with which it has been so long the general custom to reproach the government of Spain everywhere, her administration in Louisiana was as popular as any that ever existed in any part of the world; and I am persuaded that I can rely on the unanimous support of my contemporaries when I declare that they scarcely ever met in Louisiana, an individual old enough to have lived under the Spanish Government in the colony and judged of its bearing on the happiness of the people who did not speak of it with affectionate respect, and describe those days of colonial rule as the golden age, which with many was the object of secret and with others of open regrets."

S'il fallait s'en rapporter à l'opinion de M. Gayarre, on devrait en conclure que les Louisianais de cette époque avaient tres peu de mémoire ou qu'ils étaient doués d'une abnegation et d'un oubli des injures que je n'ai guère observés chez leurs descendants.

155. French's. Historical collections of Louisiana, embracing translations of many rare and valuable documents relating to the natural, civil and political history of that state, with a map. 80. Part II, Philadelphia. 1850.

Je n'ai sous les yeux que le second volume de la collection de M. French; je ne suis donc pas en mesure de rendre compte du premier.

M. French debute par cette phrase: "In preparing this volume for the press, it has been my object to clear up as much as possible, by the publication of important narratives, all doubts respecting the claim of Spain to the first discovery, and of France to the first settlement and exploration of the Mississippi river."

M. French aurait certainement pu s'éviter cette peine, car il est permis de croire qu'il existe pas une personne ayant déjà lu l'histoire de la Louisiane qui ne soit convaincu de ces deux vérités. Alors quels sont les lecteurs que M. French veut convaincre? Dans un autre endroit de sa préface il s'exprime ainsi sur la carte qu'il a jointe à son livre: "The valuable and rare map accompanying this volume is a well executed facsimile of the original. It aspires to a degree of accuracy that is of great importance both to the historian and antiquarian." Oui, la carte de de l'Isle est tres bonne et tres estimé mais puisque M. French en gratifiait ses lecteurs il aurait du faire choix pour la reproduire non d'une contrefaçon faite en Hollande en 1720, mais bien de la veritable carte de de l'Isle, publié à Paris en 1712. Si M. French eut voulu s'en donner la peine, il aurait trouvé grand nombre d'exemplaires de cette carte dont l'execution repond mieux que la contrefaçon aux eloges merités qu'il lui donne.

La carte reproduite par M. French se trouve dans deux ouvrages reimprimés à Amsterdam: Histoire de la Floride, par Garcillasso de la Vega et dans le volume I Xe. de la collection des voyages au nord, dont nous avons donne le titre sous le No..... Inutile de dire que comme toutes les contrefaçons elle est remplie de fautes grossieres qui sont facile a apercevoir. Passons maintenant aux diverses pieces qui composent ce second volume des Annales historiques de la Louisiane.

M. French dans un "account of the Louisiana Historical Society," nous en donne la constitution et le but, mais nous y cherchons en vain le resultat utile que ses travaux ont procuré au public Louisianais.

A la suite on trouve:

A discourse on the life, writings, etc. of the Hon. F. Martin.

De l'aveu de tous, le Juge Martin était un Jurisconsulte distingué, mais considéré comme historien, il est permis de ne pas partager l'opinion de M. French et de trouver que son History of Louisiana est un livre inexact, mal écrit et qui ne fait guère honneur a son auteur.

An analytical index of all the public documents in Paris relating to the discovery and early settlement of Louisiana.

Nous ne pouvons que remercier M. French d'avoir publié ce catalogue qui évitera à d'autres les recherches qui ont été faites par Mr. E. J. Forstall.

A translation of an original letter of Hernando de Soto on the conquest of Florida.

A translation of a recently discovered manuscript.

Journals of the expeditions of Hernando de Soto into Florida, by Luis Hernandez de Biedma.

M. French a omis de dire à ses lecteurs qu'il avait emprunté ces deux pièces au Recueil de M. Ternaux Campans (Voir No. 12) et on pourrait croire qu'il les avait traduites de l'original espagnol, si on ne trouvait dans sa relation des expressions françaises qui ont cependant leur équivalent en anglais. Il eut donc été de toute justice de citer à cette occasion en s'appropriant son travail le nom de l'écrivain distingué auquel nous sommes redevable de tant de recherches précieuses sur l'histoire d'Amérique.

A narrative of the expedition of Hernando de Soto into Florida, by a gentleman of Elvas, translated from the Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt in 1609.

Dans cette réimpression de la traduction de Hakluyt, M. French a supprimé la division par chapitre et le Sommaire qui les précédait ce qui en rend la lecture un peu fastidieuse, car on ne sait ou reprendre haleine. Il a crut bon, aussi de rajeunir l'orthographe d'Hakluyt et de le traduire en anglais moderne. Si le livre de M. French ne devait être lu que des étrangers à la langue anglaise, nous comprendrions cette transformation mais annoncer que l'on reproduit un écrivain du 17^e. siècle et lui donner l'orthographe du 19^e., nous paraît être ou un contresens, ou une défiance de l'intelligence du lecteur. A la suite de l'expédition de Soto, M. French réimprime la fameuse description de la Louisiane par D. Coxe, moins sa curieuse préface (voir No. 37). Nous ne reviendrons pas sur l'erreur de date que nous avons déjà signalée, mais nous nous permettrons d'observer à M. French que puisque son but en publiant cet ouvrage était de dissiper tous les doutes relativement à la revendication des Espagnols à la découverte de la Louisiane, et à celle des français à son établissement et à son exploration première; il a été mal inspiré en choisant l'écrit d'un auteur qui affirme que ce sont les anglais seuls qui ont droit à cette double prétention. Il nous semble donc qu'en perdant son but de vue; M. French a contribué à rendre son lecteur encore plus incertain, bien loin de dissiper ses doutes.

Mr. French termine son livre par une traduction du Journal du

père Marquette, traduction qui avait déjà paru en 1699 à la suite de la relation du père Hennepin (Voir No. 19). Dans l'ordre chronologique, cet écrit aurait du précéder celui de Coxe, puisque le premier à été publié plus de 25 ans avant le second. On serait tenté de croire, en le voyant ainsi rejeté à la fin du volume, que la date de 1598, déjà relaté, à été mise intentionnellement pour donner aux anglais une priorité qui ne leur appartient pas.

156. Brasseur de Bourbourg. (l'abbé). Histoire du Canada, de son église et de ses missions depuis la découverte de l'Amérique jusqu'à nos jours, écrite sur des documents inédits compulsés dans les archives de l'Archevêché et de la ville de Québec. 2 vol. in 80. Paris. 1852.

Le premier volume de cet ouvrage est également intéressant pour l'histoire de la Louisiane qui est redevable de sa colonisation aux habitants du Canada.

L'abbé Brasseur ne s'est pas borné à parler de l'Eglise et des missions de la Nouvelle France, son livre renferme des faits historiques qui seront lus avec autant plus de plaisir par l'homme du monde; qu'ils sont racontés avec clarté et avec impartialité.

157. Ampère (J. J.) de l'Académie française. Promenade en Amérique, Etats Unis, Cuba, Mexique. 2 volumes en 80. Paris, Levy. 1855.

Un intervalle de 170 années, à peine, séparé la première visite du père Marquette à la Louisiane de celle faite en dernier lieu par M. Ampère. Que de transformations se sont opérés pendant ce laps de temps, qui, pour la vieille Europe paraîtrait si courte! Là, où le pauvre missionnaire, sur un frêle canot d'écorces, ne trouvait que solitude, forêts impénétrables, peuplades barbares, nulle trace de culture; l'académicien voyage dans un palais flottant, il rencontre à chaque pas des cités florissantes, des campagnes cultivées, des usines de toute nature et une Société qui, ne le cède en rien à celle de l'Europe. L'illusion du voyageur est telle qu'en assistant à certaines réunions, il se croit transporté dans un Salon de la Chausse d'Antin.

Mais pourquoi s'étonner des merveilles opérés dans un si court espace? La fé qui les a produites, ne s'appelle elle pas la liberté?

OUVRAGES PUBLIES SUR LES DIFFERENTES TRIBUS
INDIENNES DE L'OUWEST DES ETATS UNIS:
LEURS MOEURS, ORIGINES &a.

158. Acosta (El padre Joseph de). Historia natural y moral de las Indias, en que se traten las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas, y animales d'ellas y los Ritos y ceremonias, leyes y gobierno, y guerras de los Indios. 4o. 1590.
A été traduite en français sous le titre suivant:
159. Histoire naturelle et morale des Indes orientales de J. de Acosta. Traduite par R. Regnault; et en anglais celui de:
160. The natural and moral history of the East and West Indies by J. Acosta; translated into English by E. G. 4o. 1604.
Le même ouvrage à été traduit en allemand, en Hollandais et en Italien.
De Laët. Novus Orbis &a.
Ouvrage déjà indiqué sous les Nos. 8 et 9.
161. Le Même. Notae ad dissertationem hugonis Grotii de origine gentium Americanarum et observationes aliquot ad meliorem induginem difficillinae hujus questiones. 1643.
162. Le Même. Responsio Johannis de Laët ad dissertationem secundam Hugonis Grotii de origine gentium Americanarum, cum indice ad utrumque libellum. 1644.
163. Grotius. De origine gentium Americanarum dissertatio. 4o. 1642.
164. Le Même. De origine gentium Americanarum dissertatio altera adversus obstrectatorem. Paris, Cramoisy. 1643.
165. Hornius. De originibus Americanis, libri quatuor. 8o. La Haye. 1652.
Lafiteau. Moeurs des sauvages Amériquains. Ouvrage déjà indiqué sous le No. 31.
166. Garcia (Gregorio). Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Monde; Indias occidentales averiguavos con discurso de opiniones. Trantanse en este libro varias cases y puntos curiosos, tocante a diversas ciencias y facultades, conque se varia historia de mucho gusto para el ingenio y entendimiento de hombres agudos y curiosos. Segunda impression emendada &a. In fo. Madrid. 1720.
167. Colden's. History of the five Indian nations of Canada, which are the barriers between the English and French, in that part of the world. In 8o. London. 1750.

168. Eidous, Bailly d'Engel. Essai sur cette question: Quand et comment l'Amérique a-telle été peuplée d'hommes et d'animaux? Amsterdam, 5 vol. in 12o. et 2 vol. in 4o. 1767.
169. De Paw. Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'histoire de l'espèce humaine, avec une dissertation sur l'Amérique et les Américains par Don Pernety, 3 vol. in 12o. 1771.
170. Adair's (James). History of the American Indians, particularly the nations adjoining the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina and Virginia. In 4o. Map. 1775.
171. Carli (le Comte). Lettres Américaines dans lesquelles on examine l'origine, l'Etat civil, politique, militaire et religieux, les arts, les sciences, les mœurs, les usages des anciens habitants de l'Amérique; les grandes époques de la nature, l'ancienne communication des deux hémisphères, et la dernière révolution qui a fait disparaître l'Atlantide, pour servir de suite aux mémoires de D. Ulloa. 2 vol. in 8o. Boston et Paris. 1788. *C'est Lefe de Villebrune qui a traduit ces lettres de l'Italien, après avoir donné la traduction des mémoires philosophiques de Don Ulloa (indiqués sous le No.....)*
172. Genty (abbé). L'influence de la découverte de l'Amérique sur le bonheur du genre humain. Paris. Nyon. 8o. Carte et fig. 1788.
173. Barton's (B. Smith). New views of the origin of the Tribes and nations of America. Philadelphia. In 18o. 1798.
174. Williamson's. Observations on the climate, in the different parts of America, compared with the climate in corresponding parts of the other continents. New York. 8o. 1811.
175. Heckewelder's. Narrative of the mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Monegan Indians. 1740 to 1808. 8o. Philadelphia. 1820.
A été traduit par Duponceau sous ce titre:
176. Mœurs et coutumes des nations indiennes de la Pensylvanie. Paris. 8o. 1822.
176. bis. Hunter's. Manners and customs of several Indian Tribes. 8o. Philadelphia. 1823.
177. Church's (Th.). The history of Philip's war, commonly called the great Indian war of 1675 and 1676, also of the French and Indian wars in 1689, 90, 92, 96, and 1704, in 12o. Boston. 1827
178. MacCulloh's. Researches concerning the original history of America. Royal 8o. Baltimore. 1829.

179. Tanner's (John). A narrative of the captivity and adventures, during thirty years of residence among the Indians of North America. New York. Map. 8o. 1830.
A été traduit en français sous ce titre:
180. Mémoires de J. Tanner, ou trente années dans les déserts de l'Amérique du nord, traduit par de Blosseville. Paris. A. Bertrand. 2 vol. 8o. 1835.
181. Thatcher's. Indian Biography, or an historical account of those individuals who have been distinguished among the North American natives as orators, warriors, statesmen, and other remarkable characters. 2 vol. in 18o. New York. Harper. 1832.
182. Flint's (Timothy). Indian wars of the west, containing biographical sketches of those pioneers, who headed the western settlers in repelling the attacks of the savages, together with a view of the character, manners, monuments and antiquities of the Western Indians, in 12o. Cincinnati. 1833.
183. Dunmore-Lang's. View of the origin and migrations of the Polynesian nation. London. 8o. Map. 1834.
184. Irving's (J.) Indian sketches taken during an expedition to the Pawnee and other Tribes of American Indians. 2 vol. in 12o. London. 1835.
185. Washington Irving's. A tour on the prairies. In 12o. Paris. 1835.
186. The Same. Adventures of Captain Bonneville or scenes beyond the Rocky Mountains of the far West, 8o. Paris. 1837.
187. Antiquitates Americanae sive scriptores septentrionales rerum ante Columbianarum, in America edidit societa regia antiquariorum septentrionalium. Hafinae. In 4o. 1837.
188. Supplement to the Antiquitates Americanae by C. Rafin. Copenhagen. 8o. 1841.
189. Delafield's (John). An inquiry into the origin of the antiquities of America with an appendix by J. Lakey. In 8o. New York. 1839.
190. Bradford's. American Antiquities and researches into the origin and history of the red race. New York. 8o. 1841.

GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON

*A Paper Prepared and Read by his Great-Grandson
James Wilkinson*

In complying with the kind request of this Society, I desire first to discuss the charges made in Gayarre's History of Louisiana, and adopted from that history by many other historians, that Wilkinson while a Brigadier General of the United States Army sought to betray his country by procuring the secession of Kentucky, and effecting an alliance between that territory and Spain.

In the first place Wilkinson during the whole time of this alleged conspiracy with Governor Miro was a private citizen, that is from the close of the Revolutionary War until December, 1791, at which latter date Washington again appointed him a Lieutenant Colonel in the regular army. In the next place, at the time Wilkinson was charged with this attempted betrayal there was properly speaking no country or nation for him to betray; and lastly every act of his life proved that he was devoted to the true interests of the people of the United States.

The Third Article of the Confederation, adopted 1777, expressly declared it was but "firm league of friendship" that the several States were entering into, and the Second Article of the same instrument expressly declared each State retained its own sovereignty.

The Encyclopedia Brittanica Vol. 23, p. 745 says, that under these articles of confederation:

"The States were separating from one another and from Congress. There was no executive. Congress could with difficulty bring enough members together to form a quorum. Scarcely any one outside paid any attention to what it did. Least of all was it respected by foreign governments."

The Encyclopedia Brittanica further says, Vol. 24, p. 260,

"King James in 1609, gave the London Company a sea front of 400 miles of frontage throughout from sea to sea, and under this charter Virginia had jurisdiction over her imperial colony territory and under it holds the fragment of this colony called Virginia."

Channing's History of the United States, p. 109, says,

Virginia's claims on these lands "had been annulled in 1624, after which she became a royal province."

This claim of Virginia to the colony of Kentucky was vague and shadowy. Under the grant of King James in 1609 of the country from ocean to ocean (even if it had not been annulled), that State really had as much right to California as it had to Kentucky.

In Shaler's *History of American Commonwealths*, (Ky.), that author says,

"The Colonial charters of Virginia gave to that colony a claim on all the lands of the Mississippi Valley that lay to the west of the boundaries of New York and Pennsylvania, as well as Virginia itself. At that time when the grants were made and for generations afterwards, this western domain was to Virginia a very intangible property, if indeed it deserved the name a possession."

Butler in his *history of Kentucky*, Vol. 2, p. 262, says, that the confederation of States was often called "A political barrel of 13 staves without a hoop."

Collins in his *History of Kentucky* says,

"Repeated efforts were made by General Harry Lee to obtain a continental force of 700 or even 300 soldiers to protect the western frontier from the savages, but the frantic jealousy of the central power cherished by the sovereign states at a time when that central power grovelled in the most hopeless imbecility, peremptorily forbade even this small force to be embodied, lest it would lead to the overthrow of State rights."

James K. Hosmer, member of the Minnesota Historical Society, in his *history of the Mississippi Valley*, published in 1901, says:

"The critical period in American History between the peace of 1783 and the adoption of the Constitution was not less threatening and disorderly in the Mississippi Valley than in the east. In 1784, the Watauga settlement which had been merged in North Carolina constituted itself the State of Franklin. At the head of the faction was Sevier, ever combative, * * * * No one can be blamed that in those days loyalty to the feeble union was languid, and a strong separatist feeling rife. The union being a jelly, what protection or credit could it afford to win adherents? In these western communities, some favored complete independence; some would have gone back with equanimity to England; some again were ready to connect themselves with Spain, which held New Orleans and the world beyond the river. The resourceful Clark and the well poised Robertson, even showing Spanish sympathies, while Daniel Boone finding the air contaminated by the swelling immigration, pushing across into a new wilderness took the oath of allegiance to Spain, and became an officer (the Alcade) of the District of St. Charles, a Spanish post on the Missouri."

The eastern part of Kentucky also set itself up as the province of Transylvania, and opposed the authority of Virginia. A State convention had been held in 1784 in Kentucky looking to her independence.

In 1784, the year that Wilkinson settled there, the grievances of Kentucky were three fold—.

1st. "This infant commonwealth rocked amid the war whoop and the rifle, plundered by Indians and shut up by Spaniards, was still subjected to a portion of the domestic debt then existing against Virginia." (Butler p.

181). The capital of Virginia, 500 miles distant, could only be reached by two mountain trails and across unbridged rivers, all traversible by pack horses only; and the main source of the public revenues, arising from the sale of Kentucky's public lands, were taken by the parent mother with hardly any compensating sustenance for her hungry child.

2nd. The settlers of Kentucky demanded protection against Indian atrocities, from Virginia and her sister States in vain. Smith, in his *History of Kentucky*, p. 316, declares that the pioneers of that region lost over 5,000 men, women and children alone, from Indian attacks; and these victims were often made to suffer frightful tortures before death.

Whether in their fields or at their churches, the rifle was then always the inseparable companion of the pioneer.

3rd. Kentucky, with her 4,000 miles of water ways, barred by granite walls of mountains from trade on the east, desired above all else the free navigation of the Mississippi River, her only avenue to trade and commerce. This, if she was a component part of Virginia, had been guaranteed to the Colonies by the recent British treaty of peace, the British having formerly acquired that ceded right by treaty from Spain. This right was wrongfully denied to Kentuckians by the Spaniards, and every vessel sent by them as far as Natchez was seized and with its cargo, confiscated by the Spanish buccaneers of the Mississippi. All their complaints as to this had been ignored, and no redress was afforded them.

Fiske's "Critical periods of American History" p. 211 says:

"By the treaties that closed the Revolutionary war in 1783, the province of East and West Florida were ceded by England to Spain. West Florida bordered the Mississippi River, and the Spaniards claimed that it extended up to the Yazoo River. The Americans claimed that it extended only to Natchez, but by secret treaty with England and the United States, it was agreed if England could continue to keep West Florida, the upper boundary should be the Yazoo. When the Spaniards found out about the secret treaty they were furious and closed the mouth of the river. Congress was informed that until this matter was set right no American sloop or barge should dare to show itself below Natchez without danger of confiscation. These threats produced opposite feelings in the North and South. New York and the Eastern and Northern States cared no more for the Mississippi River than for Timbuctoo. On the other hand the pioneers of the West were not willing to sit still when their pork and corn were being confiscated. The Spanish envoy, Gardaquo, arrived in Philadelphia in the summer of 1784, and John Jay, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was directed to negotiate a new treaty with him. A year of wrangling passed between the latter and the Spanish Minister. At last in despair Jay advised Congress for the sake of a Commercial treaty, to allow Spain to close the navigation of the Mississippi River below the Yazoo for 25 years. As the rumor of this went abroad among the settlements of the Ohio there was an outburst of wrath to which an incident that then occurred gave greater virulence. A North Carolina native named Amis sailed down the River with pots and pans and flour. His boat and cargo were seized at Natchez and he was forced to return home on foot alone through the wilds; Spaniards were attacked at Vincennes; Indignation meetings were held in Kentucky; the people threatened to send a force down the river to capture Natchez and New Orleans and a more dangerous threat was made that should the Northern States desert then and adopt Jay's suggestion, that they would secede and throw themselves on Great Britain for protection. Leaders in the Northern States declared that if Jay's suggestion was not adopted that it would be high time for the Northern States to secede from the Union and form a federation by themselves. The situation was dangerous in the extreme. Sooner than see their colonies go, the Southern States would have themselves seceded and broken broken away from the Northern States. But New Jersey and Pennsylvania came over with Rhode Island to the Southern side and Jay's proposal was defeated."

During the early part of this excitement in 1784 the Kentucky settlements held a convention, and this convention passed a resolution requesting the admission of Kentucky into the Union as an independent and sovereign State.

The Northern States were always bitterly opposed to admitting Kentucky because it would increase to their disadvantage the political strength of the South and West.

Virginia,—who claimed jurisdiction over these settlements, was opposed to letting Kentucky go, and even then preparations were being made to establish a water connection between the head waters of the Potomac and Ohio, and the free navigation of the Mississippi and the independence of Kentucky meant a loss of much prospective trade to the Eastern States.

Fiske's "Critical Periods of American History," p. 214 says:

"Washington himself ardently desired the traffic of the Western States brought eastward. In 1785 he became President of a Company for extending the navigation of the Potomac and James Rivers established by legislative act of Virginia, and the scheme was to connect the head waters of the Potomac with those of the Ohio."

From a convention between Maryland and Virginia to advance this work, grew out other conventions and subsequently the great convention that formed the Constitution of the United States.

In Washington's farewell address (September 17th, 1796) he says:

"The east, in a like intercourse with the West already finds, and in the progressive *improvements* of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence and the future maritime strength to the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interests as one Nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength or from an *apostate* and unnatural connection with any foreign power must be intrinsically precarious."

Walker's "Making of the Nation," p. 111, says:

"The settlers had a passionate desire to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi. To this end the hardy pioneers were almost ready to sacrifice their allegiance to the Union. * * * * *

"On the other hand it must be admitted that the first administration especially Washington and Judge Jay showed a singular obtuseness with dealing with the demands of the West on that point. Washington having penetrated as a surveyor beyond the mountains * * * * * had become deeply interested in projects for opening up trade between the West and the seaboard as to be almost infatuated with the idea. Jay on his part held that the benefits which would result to the whole country from favorable commercial treaties with Spain would be so great as to justify asking the Western people to submit for twenty-five years longer to restrictions on the navigation of the Mississippi."

Having shown the conditions in the section where Wilkinson was to become a leader, I will now refer to his early life.

Wilkinson was born in Calvert County, Maryland, in 1757. He was forced to begin his life's work early as his father died when he was six years old. He was a student of medicine when the revolutionary war began. In 1775 he joined the revolutionary army as a private. On March 1776 he was promoted to a captaincy by General George Washington. On July 17th, 1776, he was promoted to be brigade Major. On May 24th, 1777, he was made Adjutant General by Major-General Gates, and was one of the representatives of General Gates, that arranged the surrender of Burgoyne.

In the report of this surrender by General Gates which Wilkinson bore to John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, dated October 18th, 1777, the former said:

"This letter will be presented to your excellency by my Adjutant General, Col. Wilkinson, to whom I beg leave to refer you for the particulars that brought this great business to so fortunate and happy a conclusion. I desire to be permitted to recommend this gallant officer, in the warmest manner to Congress, and entreat that he may be continued in his present office with the brevet of Brigadier General. The Honorable Congress will believe me when I assure them that from the beginning of this contest, I have not met with a more promising, military genius than Colonel Wilkinson, and whose services have been of the last importance to this army.

I have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servant, Horatio Gates."

On November 6th, 1777, Congress honored Wilkinson with the brevet of Brigadier General.

We have thus presented the remarkable showing that an orphan boy, without fortune or friends, entering the revolutionary war as a private, at 18 years of age, had already taken a leading part in that war, and in two short years had won his way by several successive promotions to the brevet rank of Brigadier General.

Subsequently Wilkinson owing to ill health and an unfortunate misunderstanding with his superior officers in regard to what was known as the Conway Cabal, which had for its object the elevation of Gates over Washington as Commander-in-Chief, resigned his commission.

Wilkinson denied that he ever had anything to do with the Conway matter, and it is hardly probable that he, then only 20 years old, and friendly with both generals, would have taken part in any such scheme. Subsequently Wilkinson was appointed to the

responsible position of Clothier General of the Army and served as such to the close of the revolutionary war.

After the close of the revolutionary war, Wilkinson moved, in 1784, with his family to Kentucky, and opened a mercantile business in Lexington. His means were limited, as the continental money in which soldiers of the revolution had been paid was worth about as much as confederate money was during the late Civil War, and historians of that early time say it took about twenty dollars of it to buy a single meal.

When Wilkinson arrived, the settlement of Kentucky was in a turmoil. There had already been one convention held in 1784 to obtain Kentucky's independence and admission as a State.

Wilkinson was elected as a delegate to the 2nd Kentucky Convention held in 1785. He took a leading part in that convention and wrote its memorial for Kentucky's independence.

Smith in his *History of Kentucky*, p. 251, writes:

"In this address is recognized the florid writer and eloquent orator General James Wilkinson. This gentleman had removed with his family from Philadelphia to Lexington in the fall of the preceeding year, and was now for the first time elected a member of this convention."

Smith adds, as to the address to the people:

'This address and these resolutions are from the same pen. It will hardly escape remark that the prayer for the separation is for an acknowledgment of Sovereignty and Independence.'

Butler, in his *History of Kentucky*, says, (p. 148, 149).

"This resolution and its eloquent preamble were followed by an address to the legislature of Virginia and the people of the District in a style of dignity and ornament as yet unprecedented in the public proceedings of Kentucky. They were certainly the production of General Wilkinson; at the time in question a member of the convention. This gentleman whose emigration in the District has been noticed, now began to act a leading part of the History of Kentucky; indicative of the distinguished figure which his impressive powers as a fine writer, his military service and distinguished abilities enabled him to exhibit in the affairs of a Nation. It will be perceived that there is in these papers an elevation of political ideas richly dressed in appropriate composition; nor should any political imputation rest on them as has been insinuated because this assembly petitioned for 'Sovereignty and Independence.' Sovereignty was much more consistently the attribute of the members of the old confederation than those of the present constitution union."

In September, 1786, a fifth Kentucky convention was held whose object was again either to secure the independence of Kentucky or obtain her admission into the confederation as a sovereign State. This convention, of which Wilkinson was also a member, adjourned from day to day until January, 1787.

On June 28th, 1785, Mr. John Jay, Secretary of State for foreign

affairs was authorized, as I have shown, to negotiate a new treaty with Don Gardaquio, Minister to Spain, then located at Philadelphia, but Congress expressly prohibited any relinquishment thereby of the right to a free navigation of the lower Mississippi river. In spite of this prohibition, Mr. Jay, in an endeavor to procure traffic advantages with Spain for the Atlantic States, recommended to Congress a treaty containing a stipulation that the United States should recognize the Spanish right to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi River for 25 or 30 years.

In the 6th Kentucky Convention that met at Danville, October, 1788, Wilkinson, again a member, delivered a fiery address which in part stated:

"That it was with general abhorrence that the people received the intelligence that Congress was about to cede to Spain the exclusive right of navigating the Mississippi River for 25 years; that the western people were being driven to the alternative of separating themselves from the union on that account considering this navigation indispensable to their future growth and prosperity; that Spain should be so blind to her true interest as to refuse the use of the river to the western people and thereby compel a resort to military means. Great Britain stood ready with a sufficient force of armed allies to cooperate with them in enforcing this national right."

Wilkinson also read to the convention an address he had made the Spanish authorities on his visit to New Orleans the previous year.

Smith's History of Kentucky, p. 287, says:

"After reading this the author received a vote of thanks from the convention without a dissenting vote."

Smith says, (p. 301):

"Thus, from the first meeting in 1784 to consider the necessity of forming an independent State government for their own protection and management of home affairs, until the admission into the union eight years later, the people of Kentucky were subjected to the torturing and irritating necessity of appointing or electing delegates for assemblages in ten successive conventions, were embarrassed by sectional jealousies of the North Eastern States, for a natural affiliation with the Union, and hampered and delayed by restrictive legislation with Virginia."

It will therefore be seen that Wilkinson, embittered no doubt by the massacres of so many of his people by the Indians, without any attempt to extend them protection; by the unwelcome, and uncompromising attitude of the Northern States to the admission of Kentucky as a State; by the fact that John Jay was attempting to sell even then the natural birthright of the Western country for a mess of pottage for the benefit of the Atlantic States, which States were openly threatening to secede from the confederation if Jay was not allowed to do so, was not only openly suggesting before this convention a possible agreement with Spain; but he went further

and was openly and boldly advocating the independence of Kentucky and a possible alliance with England, and that convention *unanimously* approved his address.

The late venerable Claiborne of Mississippi, nephew of the first Governor of Louisiana, in his History of the men of Wilkinson's time, agreed with Butler that Wilkinson was openly advocating an alliance with Spain to force an admission into the union of Kentucky as a State.

And Smith, Kentucky's later Historian, p. 292-3, says:

"No party intended * * * * * anything more than commercial relations granting to Kentucky the right of navigation and exclusive trade. With consummate skill, the party under the lead of Wilkinson played the game of diplomatic strategy to tantalize the eager rapacity of Spain, while they menaced Congress to action by pointing to the open arms and seductive blandishments with which Spain stood ready to welcome Kentucky to her alliance."

Under the 9th article of the confederation no colony or part thereof could be admitted as a State without the consent of nine of the thirteen States. So, as the Northern States were opposed to the admission of Kentucky, her case seemed hopeless.

That some powerful lever was necessary to obtain the admission of Kentucky into the Union is evidenced by the fact, that Vermont, whose soldiers, under Ethan Allen, fought bravely for the independence of the colonies, was herself forced to apply to Congress for admission for 15 years, before becoming a State, and was then, in 1788, like Kentucky, still an applicant for admission; and while it took nine State conventions in Kentucky held from 1784 to 1790 to plead, implore and threaten her way into the Union in 1792, it took nearly double that time for Vermont to achieve admission.

Not a single new State was admitted during the existence of the Confederation from 1777 to 1789.

In this connection, although by the 3rd article of the French treaty of the cession of Louisiana from Napoleon, it was provided, that Louisiana should be promptly admitted as a State in the Union; the jealousy of the Northern States prevented this for eight years, it being contended by the Northern States, that the highly civilized French and Spanish residents were not capable of self government; and when the bill was presented for Louisiana's admission, that admission was only obtained after the most bitter protests from certain northern States, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts declaring in Congress:

"That if Louisiana was admitted the Union of States was thereby dissolved, and that it would be then the duty of those States to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, forcibly if they must."

The chair thereupon sustained a point of order made by Mr. Pointdexter, of Mississippi, that language involving a dissolution of the Union could not be permitted on the floor of the House; but on appeal, this ruling of the chair was reversed, and thus encouraged the speaker went on with furious invective against the dangers of admitting Louisiana, or any State from her territory, as subversive of the Union.

Again as late as 1814, the delegations from Northern States, to the Hartford Convention adopted there resolutions that meant the secession of those States, which secession was only prevented by peace being declared between England and this country.

Strange it is that it should be deemed treasonable for Wilkinson to have advocated the secession of Kentucky, an outlying territory, from a confederation of States that had refused to receive her as a sister State, and all this before a union of States had ever been formed, while it should be held no sin to preach secession by force by leaders of the principal States of the union on the floor by Congress itself, 23 years after the Union had been formed, and the former confederation had ceased to exist, and later again during a war which menaced the very existence of this country.

Apart from and beyond a diminution of political power there may have loomed up before these leaders of the North a prophetic vision of the time when New Orleans, the Queen City of the South, would be the successful rival of every Sea Board City in the Union, save New York, for foreign trade, as they no doubt realized the self-evident truth that every pound of import or export freight that ascended or descended the Mississippi River, either to, or from the west, was that much less trade for the North and East.

But taking up these charges against Wilkinson and analyzing them logically, and I may add comparatively, with later events in American History, they do not on the admitted facts justify the severe criticisms levelled against Wilkinson the private citizen, when he led the threatened secession of Kentucky between 1785 and 1790.

There is no character that is more revered and admired in modern American History than that of General Robert E. Lee. He was not a private citizen, but an officer in the army of the United States when eleven States of the Union began one by one to secede from a Union of States, whose national government had existed for seventy years.

General Lee and the men of the South affirmed the right of the

States to secede from the Union, and the former resigned his commission and cast his lot with his native State of Virginia.

If Lee and the entire people of the South, including some of Wilkinson's descendants, who sealed their convictions with their blood, believed their States had the right to secede, after the union had existed under a stable national government for seventy years, to secede too, the North claims, largely on the question of negro slavery; if they could justify and defend the firing on the union flag at Fort Sumter, if they could justify and participate in a war that cost blood and tears and treasures and suffering untold, during which war they appealed both to England and France for aid and support, her most famous admiral, Semmes, just previously an officer of the United States Navy, securing a warship from England with which he almost swept the commerce of the United States from the seas, without taking the life of a single non-combatant; if they could do all this, then Wilkinson, a private citizen, one of the pioneers in 1784 in a western wild, before a union of States had ever been formed when the right of a sovereign State to secede was not denied and could not be denied; where the settlements he lived in was not even a State, or justly a part of any State; where the territory he lived in had itself been thrice denied admission in the federation of States, surely then he could not be justly condemned because, with thousands of others, he advocated the adoption of a policy which seemed to him and those other pioneers of Kentucky, vital to the preservation of both their property and their lives.

Butler, p. 173, says:

"To try the conduct of Kentucky statesmen in 1788 under a confederation in ruins and in factions, by the same principles which should now direct the mind under an efficient and beneficent government, would be absurd and unjust."

Shaler's History of American Commonwealths (Kentucky), says:

"There is a remarkable likeness between the incidents of separatists struggle of 1784-1790 and those of the secession movement of 1860-1, * * * * * In the former, however, the proposition was for a separation from a government that hardly existed and against which many valid objections could be urged, such a separation would have violated no pledges whatever."

Parton's Life of Burr, Vol. 2, p. 32, says:

"The reader must be reminded that during the administration of John Adams, the Union, to backwoodsmen, had not the sacred charm it has since possessed. The noise of party contention filled the land. The Union as Wilkinson himself said, seemed to hang together by a thread, which any moment might break. Wilkinson may have thought of hastening the catastrophe, of forming a western republic, of becoming its Washington, without being in any sense of the word, a traitor."

Smith in his History, p. 291, says:

"In making up the verdict of judgment we must consider that the chaotic and imbecile government of the Union of 1788 was a very doubtful and precarious hope of the future compared to the Union of today, and the proposed independent separation from Virginia was just what Virginia and the other States had done a few years before with Great Britain with less cogent reasons."

"The alleged cause of the American Revolution, (Taxation without representation), consisted in a levy in April, 1770, of a six cents a pound import duty on tea. The mother country then paid an inland tax of 24 cents a pound on the same article, and the preference shown the colonies in this matter was resented as an attempt to bribe them to support this form of a tax." (Channing's History of the U. S., p. 65.) The proceeds of this tax only amounted to about three hundred dollars a year, and England had probably spent a thousand times as much as this on the armies she had sent over a few years before to protect the colonies from the French and the Indians.

The United States later adopted in her own territories practically the same system that she had waged war about with the mother country.

Section 1862 of the U. S. Revised Statutes, still in force, limited each territory to one delegate in the House of Representatives, and gave no territorial representation in the United States Senate. The delegate in the lower body was expressly denied the right to vote on any question. Represented in the Lower House by a political eunuch, and with no representation at all in the Senate, the territories, that so long comprised three quarters of the entire area of this country, paid millions of dollars of both Internal Revenue and Import taxes to the Federal Government without representation in the levy of such taxes and had the same right to secede on this account as the colonies originally had.

Adams, History of the United States, Vol. 1, p. 143, says:

"Even after the adoption of the new constitution, Union was a question of expediency, not of obligation. This was the conviction of the true Virginia School and of Jefferson's opponents as well as his supporters."

We must moreover judge the conduct of Wilkinson at that time by what a great many others were then doing in the United States.

Hart's "Formation of the Union", p. 112-117, says:

"The revolutionary war had left behind it an eddy of lawlessness and disregard of human life. The support of the government was a heavy load on the people. The States were physically weak and the State legislatures habitually timid. In several States there were organized attempts to set off outlying portions as independent governments. Vermont had set the

example by withdrawing from New York, in 1777, and throughout the confederation remained without representation, either in the New York legislature or in Congress. In 1782 the western countries of Pennsylvania and Virginia threatened to break off and form a new State. From 1785 to 1786, the so called State of Franklin formed out of the territory of what is now Eastern Tennessee, had a constitution, legislature and Governor and carried on a mild border warfare with the government of North Carolina, to which its people owed allegiance. The people of Kentucky and of Maine held conventions looking towards separation. The year 1786 was marked by great uneasiness in what had been supposed to be the steadiest States in the Union. In New Hampshire there was a threatened insurrection against the legislature. In Massachusetts in the fall of 1786, concerted violence threatened the courts from sitting. * * * * * As a speaker in the Massachusetts Convention in 1788, said, 'People took arms, and then if you went to speak to them you had a musket of death presented to your breast. They would rob you of your property, threaten to burn your houses; obliged you to be on your guard night and day. * * * * * How terrible how distressing this was * * * * * had any one who was able to protect us come and set up his standard, we should have all flocked to it even should it have been a monarch. The arsenal at Springfield was attacked; the State forces were sent in the open field by armed insurgents; had they been successful the Union was not worth one of its own repudiated notes. * * * * * The year 1786, marks a crisis in the development of the Union. The inefficiency of Congress, was reflected in the neglect of the Constitutional duties of the States; Rhode Island recalled her delegates and refused to appoint new members; New Jersey felt so much injured by a New York tariff that an act was passed taxing the light house established by New York on Sandy Hook; Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Georgia had already raised troops on their own account and for their own purposes in violation of the articles of confederation. Davie, of North Carolina, a little later declared, that the 'encroachments of some States on the rights of others are incontestible proofs of the weakness of the confederation.' Of the requisitions of that time for two million dollars, in specie, only about four hundred thousand dollars was paid. Some States offered their own depreciated notes, and New Jersey refused to contribute at all until the offensive New York acts were withdrawn. In May, 1786, Chas. Pinckney on the floor of Congress, declared, 'That Congress must be invested with more power or that federal government must fall.' "

Channing's recent *History of the United States*, p. 121, repeats most of this and adds:

"Another instance of the same interstate rivalry was to be seen in the relations of Massachusetts and Connecticut. To protect her shipping and manufacturing interests Massachusetts passed a severe navigation act designed to keep the English goods and traders out of that State. Connecticut thereupon repealed every trade law on her statute book, thereby inviting foreign trade to her harbors and owing to the facilities for overland smuggling, completely frustrated the policy of Massachusetts."

Rhode Island levied both an export and import duty on eggs going into and coming from New York and caught the hen fruit industry both ways.

Where the confederated States, that during their entire existence *never admitted another State*, were themselves engaged in a prohibitive trade war inter-sese, I ask, what hope was there for the settlements of Kentucky, that those States would, or could, ever

enforce against so strong a power, as Spain then was, a freedom of trade which they did not, and could not, enforce among themselves?

Channing says, (p. 121):

"The real cause of the downfall of the confederation and the establishment of a more perfect union, was * * * * * to be found in the conviction, which gained ground rapidly in 1786-87, that the several States could not long continue on the existing basis without civil war."

The confederation was to quote the general consensus of opinion, an unhappy experiment of an impossible form of government.

Gauging Wilkinson's views, not by the present strong and stable union, but by a disintegrating confederacy tottering to its own fall; not by the magnificent domain of the west as it exists to-day, but by what public men of his own times thought of it, as a desert and forest wild, it would not seem that anyone then deemed the secession of the scattered settlements of Kentucky, barely able to hold their own against the Indians, or the non-acquisition of that western wild, would have mattered much to the majority of the States then engaged in internecine strife and carrying on a commercial war among themselves. The lands of the Atlantic States too were still sparsely settled, and neither Washington, Adams, nor even Jefferson prior to 1800, looked with favor on Western emigration.

Even at a later date in his letter to Breckenridge, August 12, 1803, President Jefferson wrote,

"Whether we remain one confederacy or form into Atlantic and Mississippi Confederations, is not important to the happiness of either part of the country."

And of this Adams, in his History of the United States, Vol. 1, p. 72, said, "Even over his liberal mind history cast a spell so strong that he thought the solitary experience of a political confederacy not very important beyond the Alleghanies."

Hosmer's History of the Louisiana Purchase, p. 64, says:

"Madison is on record as believing that emigration west of the Mississippi River would be detrimental; that settlers should remain on the Eastern side and not 'dilute population' by spreading too widely. To occupy that unknown desert, such as it was believed to be in great part, would most unwisely 'slacken concentration' and be a certain promoter of disunion sentiments. It was a necessity that the West Bank should be under a separate government. These views of his secretary the President probably shared."

When Monroe and Livingston were sent to negotiate for the purchase of Louisiana they were only authorized to buy New Orleans, west Florida and the lands adjacent thereto, and they were instructed not to buy the west bank of the river, and were authorized to guarantee a joint use of the Mississippi River to the nation owning the west bank country above New Orleans. Livingston in his arguments

to Napoleon and his minister repeatedly said, that he attached no great importance to anything but the New Orleans section of Louisiana and it was Napoleon alone that insisted practically, that the tail of the ox must go with the hide, that the commissioners must take all of Louisiana, or none. The commissioners were authorized to promise \$10,000,000, for the limited area they were to buy. They increased this limit by five million dollars for all of Louisiana, and the addition of this land and increase of price were not welcomed either by President Jefferson or by his secretary, James Madison.

So unwelcome in fact was it, that far from thanking the commissioners for their splendid service, Howard, on the "Louisiana Purchase," p. 121, says:

"Madison wrote a personal letter to James Monroe finding fault with Livingston for this action."

In the spring of 1787 while the feeling between Kentucky and the Spanish authorities was at its hottest, Wilkinson loaded a flat boat with tobacco, hams, butter and flour and started fearlessly on a 1400 mile floating test voyage to New Orleans. Early historians say that trips of that kind were usually made by three flat boats lashed abreast, the center one being used by the crew and the others as a fortification against Indian attacks, and that frequently white captives were placed on the banks to entreat succor, as a lure, which several times resulted in the capture or massacre of an entire crew by the Indians. Wilkinson risked the Indian peril in a single flatboat. A further peril was successfully overcome by Wilkinson at the Spanish Post at Natchez, but on his arrival at New Orleans his cargo was seized.

In Daniel Clark's memoir to Hon. Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, dated April 18th, 1798, the former, strange to say, gives a truthful account of how Wilkinson overawed the Spanish officer at Natchez into allowing him to pass, and how, when his cargo was seized at New Orleans, Wilkinson threatened the vengeance of Kentuckians for the outrage.

Clark said to Pickering:

"Governor Miro, a weak man, unacquainted with American Government, ignorant even of the position of Kentucky, with respect to his own province, but alarmed at the very idea of an irruption of Kentucky men whom he feared without knowing their strength, communicated his wishes to the intendant that the guard might be removed from Wilkinson's boat which was accordingly done * * * * * In his interview with the governor, Wilkinson, that he might not seem to derogate from the character given of him, by appearing concerned in so trifling a business as a boat load of tobacco, hams and butter, gave the governor to understand that the property belonged to many citizens of Kentucky, who avail-

ing themselves of his return to the Atlantic States by way of New Orleans, wished to make a trial of the temper of this government as he, on his arrival, might inform his own government that steps had been pursued, under his eye, that adequate measures should be afterwards taken to procure satisfaction. * * * * * Convinced by this discourse that the General rather wished for an opportunity of embroiling affairs, than he sought to avoid it, the governor became more alarmed * * * * * and he resolved to hold out as a bait to Wilkinson the permission to trade at New Orleans if he would use his influence with Kentuckians to prevent an invasion of Louisiana."

The Honorable Oliver Pollock, American Agent at New Orleans, during the revolutionary war, who was a great favorite of the Spanish governors of Louisiana, testified under oath at Wilkinson's trial:

"I was deeply interested in the information that General Wilkinson had obtained permission to bring down tobacco, wishing to have the exclusive privilege myself, and I immediately went to Governor Miro, to ask the cause of tobacco coming down the river in large quantities, as I was informed, whereupon he told me that he had consented for General Wilkinson to bring down tobacco in hopes to pacify the Kentuckians and people of the western country, to prevent a rupture between Spain and America, and in order to give time for negotiations between the two powers relative to the navigation of the Mississippi."

Upon its face every one of Wilkinson's statements to Miro were true. His adherents in Kentucky were ready and anxious for the fray and his statement in the Kentucky convention later in October, 1788, was that if Spain denied Kentucky's rights that he was prepared to lead them against the Spaniards at New Orleans and even invoke England's aid, just as President Jefferson wrote in 1803 to Livingston that if France attempted to take possession of New Orleans under her purchase from Spain, this country would become "married to the army and navy of England."

Wilkinson won out with Miro, to use a slang phrase, purely on his nerve. It is doubtful whether Miro gave Wilkinson a privilege to trade at New Orleans, but if he did, this privilege in Wilkinson's name was also used for the property of other Kentuckians. Otherwise Wilkinson could not have retained his popularity.

Wilkinson constituted Clark and Rees his selling agents, returned from New Orleans to Kentucky, via sea and the Atlantic States, and took a leading part in the proceedings of the Danville Convention in October, 1788.

Gayarre and all the historians who have sought to cast obloquy on the ashes of General Wilkinson, have sought to show that during the Miro administration, which ended in 1791, General Wilkinson was, both by a trade monopoly and a money pension, bribed as a mercenary of Spain. The alleged copies of Wilkinson's letters which Governors Gayoso, Miro or Carondelet may have forwarded to Spain to enhance and magnify the importance of what they were doing

for the mother country, while they contained much that was true, like a lie that is half the truth, give color to Gayarre's charges. Gayarre's secret bitterness against Wilkinson arose no doubt from a belief that the latter had tricked and deceived the Spaniards, Gayarre's grandfather having been one of the intendants of Spain.

It is true that Laussat reported to his government, that Wilkinson had tricked and deceived the Spaniards, but Wilkinson did not trick and deceive them half so much as Laussat's chief, the first Consul, did, when the latter bought Louisiana in 1800 from Spain, under a solemn promise not to sell it to any other power, and proceeded promptly to sell it to the United States. Wilkinson did not equal even his own government in duplicity, when by the treaty of 1783, England and the United States accorded East and West Florida to Spain, and then by a simultaneous secret treaty this country urged England to hold on to West Florida and deprive Spain of it.

Whatever visions of a prospective alliance with Kentucky, Wilkinson did hold out to the Spaniards, I have yet to see any alleged letter written by Wilkinson that proved that he ever actually got a dollar from the government of Spain save in commercial transactions. That he received nothing on his first visit to New Orleans Miro admits in his letter of June 15th, 1788, quoted in 3rd Gayarre, p. 212.

Wilkinson sent Mr. Isaac Dunn down with his tobacco boats in 1788 and did not go to New Orleans himself again till 1789.

In this letter Miro wrote:

"From the beginning, he, Wilkinson had informed me he was not possessed of any pecuniary means. Here an individual on the recommendation of the intendant Navarro had loaned him \$3,000.00. He now begs me not to seize his cargo, as he has pledged the products of its sale to refund that sum, and to pay his crew, and the amount due on the tobacco which he has bought on credit, and as the balance is to enable him to support himself without embarrassment, which will tend to increase and preserve his influence in his State." (3 Gayarre 212.)

Miro adds:

"Although his candor and the information I have sought from many who have known him well, seem to assure us he is working in good earnest, yet I am aware that it may be possible that his intention is to enrich himself at our expenses with promises and hopes he knows to be vain." (3 Gayarre 313.)

We find here, according to Miro, Wilkinson asking, by his agent Isaac Dunn in 1788, that his cargo be not seized as it is all he has to pay money borrowed by him on his previous visit and his crew and to use for his personal expenses.

If there had been any trade agreement between Wilkinson and

Miro in 1787 why should the former beg Miro not to seize his cargo in 1788.

Compare Wilkinson's honesty with his subsequent treatment by the Spaniards.

The King of Spain had a monopoly of the tobacco trade. The records shows that Governor Miro had an interest in Wilkinson's cargoes and was always urging the King to buy tobacco in New Orleans. In 1790 Wilkinson working on a scanty capital after his coolness with Miro, shipped 135 hogsheads to his agent Phillip Nolan at New Orleans. On a pretense that they were damaged, the King's inspector, Arrieta, kept and refused payment for these hogsheads of tobacco. This tobacco was however, passed, the following year, by another inspector, Brion, and the proceeds of same, \$17,874, were only partially paid for during the ensuing five succeeding years, which left Wilkinson, in 1791, without any working capital.

After this when General Harmar's forces were cut to pieces by the Indians, Wilkinson volunteered early in 1791 as second in command of the Kentucky Rangers under General Scott and was appointed December 1791, by General Washington, a colonel in the regular army. Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, vol. 2, declare, pp. 114 and 227, that he was not trained for trade and that his commercial ventures had been failures, and that after he again drew his sword, in 1791, he had taken leave of trade forever.

Honorable Oliver Pollock also testified at Wilkinson's trial, that as he was delivering his own tobacco at New Orleans in 1790, the inspector told him that Wilkinson's tobacco was condemned and lodged in the King's store.

In Robertson's recent "*History of Louisiana under Spain*," is reported an alleged letter from Gayoso, then Spanish Governor at Natchez, dated July 5th, 1792, in which he says:

"Wilkinson was recommended by Don Estevan Miro for a pension and other help, the resolution was delayed so long because of the distance that separated us from that court that in the meanwhile he lost his credit in Kentucky for lack of means to maintain it. However, his majesty's approval of the pension that had been proposed to him having arrived at the beginning of this year (1792) it was communicated to Wilkinson by messenger. His answer just arrived a few days ago, but I am ignorant of its contents, as I sent it under seal to Baron de Carondelet, the Governor of the province."

No copy of the alleged reply of Wilkinson to Governor Carondelet has ever been produced. If favorable to this pension why was a copy thereof not forwarded to the Spanish archives? On his trial before the courtmartial Wilkinson produced a carefully detailed statement from the Spanish Treasurer, Gilberto Leonard, of his last

transactions with the Spanish authorities. The payments to him on this statement were for the loss of the "Speedwell," a boat and cargo sent up the river for Miro's account, and later was for the tobacco and began on June 2nd, 1790, more than two years before the date of the alleged pension approval, and up to January 4th, 1796 totaled \$27,900, or over treble the amount of the alleged pension from the time of its allowance. Wilkinson supported by ample evidence the facts; that these different payments were made for condemned tobacco and for this vessel and cargo, formerly lost for Miro's account; he showed, as all historians agree, that the lower Ohio was at the time infested with white bandits and thieving Indians and that his previous agent, Owens, had been robbed and murdered while bringing him \$6,000.00; he showed the safety of this money had been insured, and how a subsequent messenger, Jose Collins, has spent most of the insurance money, before he delivered the small balance to him, and this by the sworn testimony of Collins himself. Collins further testified that the money formerly sent by Owens was due to Wilkinson for tobacco, and it is clear that men do not insure the delivery of bribes. The \$9,640 Wilkinson's agent Nolan, had sent by Thomas Powers from New Madrid to be delivered to Nolan at Louisiville in 1796, was in silver specie, which was packed at New Madrid in sugar barrels so as to save both it, and the bearer from the previous fate of Owens, and to this evidence Wilkinson added the testimony of Gilberto Leonard, the Spanish Treasurer, then residing at Baton Rouge, the only remaining Spanish official in Louisiana, that all moneys paid Wilkinson by the Spanish authorities were on account of his commercial transactions, and there was still up to the period Wilkinson re-entered the service of the United States, "a very considerable balance in favor of the General."

Much larger sums than that due Wilkinson were later defaulted on by the crown of Spain. The former Intendant Morales, gave as an excuse for remaining in New Orleans for over two years after its cession to the United States, that he was expecting four hundred thousand dollars from Spain to pay debts due parties in New Orleans. (4th Gayarre 130).

In Martin's History of Louisiana, pp. 306 and 307, the Spanish official receipts and expenditures of 1802 are given. The statement attested by Gilberto Leonard, Treasurer, Manuel Almiraz, Secretary, shows:

"The Royal Chests owe, \$255,518 to the fund of deposits, \$48,372 and 31 cents to that of tobacco, (p. 306). On page 307, as explanatory of the foregoing, "*funds of deposits*," the deposits constituting a part of this fund, proceed from property *in dispute* to which the King has a claim, and

the amount is deposited until the claim is decided. The sum due to the fund for tobacco is a balance which remained of that particular fund after the King's purchases were completed."

The crown bought Wilkinson's tobacco. In 1790 there was a dispute about the soundness of this tobacco. The amount therefore would have in due course been placed in the fund of deposits, to which the crown owed by 1802 over a quarter of a million dollars.

France too, owed our citizens some twenty million francs in 1803, which debts were assumed by the United States as part of the purchase price of Louisiana. I do not know how much of this was ever paid as the United States appears to have inclined to Falstaff's favorite motto "base is the slave that pays," and is still holding on to millions of dollars of money from cotton, as wrongfully seized in New Orleans, 1863, as Wilkinson's tobacco was in 1790.

Miro, in one of his letters to Spain, laid great stress on the bogus attack that Wilkinson had caused to be made on a British emissary in Kentucky, and then how Wilkinson had hustled this emissary out of the country, ostensibly to save his life. It may have later dawned on Miro that Wilkinson's efforts as a humorist were not confined to England alone.

Fortier, Vol. 2, p. 486, says, the population of the colony of Louisiana, when Spain took possession in 1769, was about 14,000, the annual revenues were over \$19,000, and the expenses \$10,000 a year, or about 70 cents per capita. Under the Spanish domination, this population had increased in 1803 to 50,000, the income was \$120,000 and the expenditures of the previous year (1802) \$800,000, or sixteen dollars per capita, and Gayarre admits that the Spanish Governors of Louisiana cost their mother country a clear loss of Fifteen Millions of Dollars. I mention this to show that Louisiana produced nothing like enough for her own governmental alimony and whenever the pay rolls were to be swelled by claims for pensions, the money had to be sent from Spain.

It is therefore clear on the face of the papers that Wilkinson did not receive a pension or bribe from Miro, who left Louisiana for Spain in 1791. If Miro did write Spain for a pension for Wilkinson, it was not authorized by Wilkinson, and on the evidence, to be hereafter referred to, it would seem reasonably certain that the amounts paid him were for tobacco purchased but not paid for by the Miro administration and for the purchase of which, in 1790, Miro was criticised by his home government. (See 3 Gayarre, p. 308).

A reasonable explanation of Miro's request for a pension for Wilkinson, if he made such application to the King of Spain, has

been overlooked by Gayarre and other writers, who have been eager to condemn Wilkinson at every opportunity. The word "pension" in either French or Spanish has not the same meaning that the English word pension has.

A world wide authority, B. Larousse, "Dictionnaire Universelle," Vol. 12, letter p.—Verbo "Pension" says, this word comes from the Latin word "Pensio."

"Before 1790 the word "Pension" applied indistinctly to all the benefits distributed by the sovereign, and confounded under that name the modest recompense of the obscure officer and the richest establishment of princes."

Therefore the word cited in both French and Spanish meant, before 1790, a recompense for personal service. The sense of the word was changed after the French revolutions.

Now, all histories agree that Gardaquio in 1786 did all he could to obtain American settlers for upper Louisiana, and that New Madrid was largely composed of these settlers. Miro was trying to do the same by West Florida and Louisiana in 1787. When Wilkinson took his tobacco down to New Orleans, the latter admits he agreed to become, under certain conditions, to be approved by the court of Spain, the immigration agent for Governor Miro. There was nothing wrong about this. Spain was at peace with this country and there are today many immigration agents in the United States whose official duty it is to secure desirable immigrants from foreign countries.

Wilkinson states at some length in his Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 112, this conditional agreement with Miro, as to bringing these families to Louisiana, and states specifically it was to be for his personal emolument. On his visit in 1789, he says:

"I was then informed by Governor Miro that the opening of the Mississippi to the western inhabitants had been approved and the permission for the settlement had been granted, but he informed me he had received no advice for our plan of colonization and the tobacco speculation."

Historians of the life of Boone, who from 1795 to 1804 was a Spanish subject, say that the object of the Spaniards, in endorsing American immigration, was to interpose between themselves and the British on the North a people, who like themselves, had recently been at war with England.

Wilkinson, in his Memoirs, declares, that he realized that, under whatever allegiance or guise American settlers came to settle West Florida, the safest and surest way to make that country American was to make the majority of its residents American. That in

proposing to do this; in his endeavors to obtain the free navigation of the Mississippi river, and to put through the then apparently impossible task of securing the admission of Kentucky as one of the States of the Federation, Wilkinson used duplicity and guile both with the Spaniards and the leaders of the Northern and Eastern States of the Union, I do not deny. I do, however, deny that the language used in the retranslation of his alleged letters is correct. Miro admits, in his letters on file in the Louisiana Historical Society, that he knew little English and though Navarro was his superior in that respect, the translation of an English cipher letter into Spanish was necessarily a difficult task for either of them.

In doing this they have adopted the obsequious tone that was usually used by them in addressing their master in Spain, for instance, the American word "subject" is always translated as "vassal," the American Congress as "Americano Corte," the American Court, and such other liberal use of words.

I must however insist that not one of the alleged original letters of Wilkinson have ever been produced, and no court in any civilized country would admit these alleged retractions of former alleged translations against Wilkinson living and they certainly should not be admitted against him now that he is dead, unless the dastardly pleas prevail that what is not admissible against the living can be safely used to defame the dead.

Miro certainly did not expect Wilkinson to serve as immigration agent without pay, and no doubt the pension he applied for, if he did apply for one, was a salary to be paid Wilkinson for such service.

In 1790 Miro wrote Wilkinson "you are our agent and I am ordered to give you hopes that the King will *recompense you* as I have already intimated."

It would therefore seem that the word pension then meant as Larousse says, a recompense for personal service.

I cannot otherwise reconcile Howard's statement, in his "Purchase of Louisiana," page 61, "That Miro spent in 1786 three hundred thousand dollars in inflaming the Indians against the Americans," with Gayarre's asserted fact, that Miro attempted the year later, to control the leader of the men he most feared, by a recommendation, that at *some future date*, the King of Spain would pay him a paltry two thousand dollars a year.

This does not sound reasonable. The explanation I offer seems logical, that this pay was to be for immigration services, which plan was abandoned in 1791. It is a coincidence that Wilkinson was ap-

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pointed as Colonel in the army in December, 1791, the same month that Miro left Louisiana never to return.

While Gayarre, raised by a grand-father, De Bore, who was so anti-American that he refused the first commission that Madison ever issued to a legislative council in Louisiana, denounced Wilkinson as a bribe taker, he claims that the alleged bribe giver, Governor Miro, was about as pure and honest as the angels around the throne. I propose hereafter to show that the Spanish rulers in Louisiana and other American colonies from the earliest times to the time they were driven from their last western possession, Cuba, exhibited a long record of financial infamy and rottenness, and that no fair man would convict anyone on their ex parte and sworn, much less, their unsworn statements.

Could the servants be expected to be better than the master?

Spain ruled by the infamous Godoy from 1792 to 1808, was, during that time, reeking with rottenness. Harrison's History of Spain says, p. 609:

"There was only despotic power, unmitigated license, a throng of hateful lickspittles and the depraved spectacle of an obscene queen and her lover." * * * * * The vicious and despotic administration of Godoy crowned the anarchy of the Indies and Sierras, * * * * * leaving a debt of over 1,200 millions of reals. * * * * * The deficit in one year amounted to 800 millions of reals. (p. 614).

"The six years between 1802 and 1808 were years of infamy, of profound criminality on the part of the Prince of Peace (Godoy), perpetually coquetting with Napoleon and dreaming of an independent sovereignty in Portugal, and of shameless squabbles in the Royal family. *The mere mention of an honest meeting of expenses created a paroxysm of disgust, terror and indignation in the palace.*" (p. 620).

"The immorality of the governing authorities gave an infinity of details to the general misery." (p. 621).

"Godoy is reputed to have stolen *two thousand millions* and Napoleon tried in 1808 to execute him and forever banish the imbecile King Carlos IV and his termagant queen to private life." (p. 631).

"In 1808 as for finances *there were none*. The state debt at that time amounted to more than seven millions of reals, but one-third of which was due to earlier governments. And the Castiles had lost one-third of their population by epidemics and famines." (p. 635.)

Bancroft's History of Mexico. Vol. XII, p. 5, speaking of the decadence of Spain, says:

"Godoy, a young officer, the queens favorite, impudent, incompetent, ambitious, thoroughly immoral, sycophant or conspirator according to the tide, but *always villain*."

"Spain under these baneful influences sinks lower than ever. * * * * * There is in circulation one billion nine hundred and eighty million dollars paper money in 1799, at 40 per cent discount. Religion is everywhere present as the handmaid of vice." Bancroft 6.

Mr. Gayarre in his panegyric on Spanish honor, failed to remember the Spanish Knights who in order to make native Americans produce their hidden treasures, sprayed their feet with burning oil, and even at the time that Gayarre wrote of, Robinson's Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 11, says:

"During the famous, or rather infamous administration of Godoy, sacrilegiously called the Prince of Peace, every office in America, from that of Vice-Roy down to a menial dependent in the customhouse was publicly sold; except in a few instances, in which they were bestowed on the servants of the Prince, as a premium for their intrigues, or, as it was styled to reward their fidelity to his royal master or royal mistress. * * * * * Under men like these were the lives and property of Spanish Americans placed. Out of one hundred and sixty-vice-roys who have ruled in America only four were creole born and even those four were brought up from their infancy in Spain."

* * * * *

"The commerce of the colonies felt the fatal influence of Spanish despotism. The acts, exactions and injustice of those avaricious monopolists would scarcely be believed by the civilized world. Our limits will not permit us to detail them; but we may observe that extortion was the leading feature of that disgraceful commerce." pp. 13-14.

I wish to call special attention to the enmity and bitterness that attended the various transfers of Louisiana. Louisiana was ceded from France to Spain by the treaty of Fontainebleau on November 3rd, 1762. Governor Ulloa from Havana was only sent to take possession of it for Spain on March 5th, 1766. When he came he remained for months at the Belize, nearly 100 miles below New Orleans, where he raised the Spanish flag, and Judge Martin says for "nearly two years Ulloa haunted the province as a phantom of dubious authority." On October 31st, 1768, Ulloa was forced to leave.

On July 23rd, 1769, O'Reilly arrived at the Belize with 3000 *Spanish troops*. Concealing under the cloak of hospitality the dagger of the assassin, the latter slaughtered the leaders of the Creoles, the first Americans on the Western continent to proclaim their independence of Europe.

Judge Martin says of this tragedy, "Posterity the judge of men in power, will doom this act to public execration."

Though Louisiana was retroceded to France by the treaty of St. Ildefonso on October 1st, 1800, the Prefect Laussat, only came to New Orleans on March 26th, 1803, and lingered here afraid to even attempt to take possession for France, until November 30th, 1803. But when December 20th, 1803, twenty days later, arrived, and it came to be the turn of the United States to take possession, both Claiborne and Wilkinson acted promptly, and the actual transfer took place at the hour and minute fixed. Spain was then pro-

testing that Napoleon had no right to sell Louisiana, and the Creoles still hoped that their dream of being governed again by La Belle France would be realized, and consequently the feeling towards the representatives of the Saxon power was anything but kindly.

Gayarre, half Spaniard and half French, was born and grew to manhood under ancestors imbued with these prejudices and probably is not to blame for feeling as he did.

In his History of Louisiana he is very unjust to Wilkinson. It will be remembered that Wilkinson on his first visit to New Orleans in 1787 prepared a memorial to the Spanish crown at the request of Miro and Navarro, which memorial Miro forwarded to Spain, * * * * But Gayarre says, (3rd Volume 202).

"So much for Wilkinson's ostensible doings, but it leaked out at the time and passed current among those who *pretended* to be well informed, that Wilkinson had delivered to the Spanish Governor a memorial containing other representations which were kept from the public eye."

"They say" or "it is said" might do for a gossip's tale, but no historian should resort to such hearsay as "it passed current among those who pretended to know," particularly where the writer could not have known those who so pretended and he does not cite his authority for such pretence.

In Gayarre's own history (3 Volume 228) is quoted an alleged letter of Wilkinson to Miro in which he states, that at the Danville Convention, held in Kentucky in 1788, "I submitted them *my original memorial* and the joint answer of yourself and Navarro."

It would therefore seem that Gayarre's statement as to there being two memorials was a draft on his imagination.

This memorial of Wilkinson is set forth in Miro's Despatch #13 and as outlined there is an able paper.

It showed that Wilkinson had a greater grasp on the future destiny of the Mississippi Valley than any man of his time. I cite one passage from this memorial, written at a time when Washington was preparing to laboriously dig a canal, by hand, to connect the Potomac with the Ohio, and seventeen years before, even Jefferson, awoke to the truth of what Wilkinson then portrayed.

"When we cast our eyes on the country east of the Mississippi we find it of vast expansion, varied in its climate; of excellent lands, the best in the new world; abounding in the most useful mines, minerals and metals. On making this examination the question naturally arises; For what purpose did the Father of the Universe create this country? Surely for the good of his creatures since he has made nothing in vain. Does it not therefore, strike the most limited intellect that he who closes the only gate by which the inhabitants of this extensive region may approach their neighbors in pursuit of useful intercourse, opposes this benevolent design? Is not the Mississippi this gate? The privation of its use takes away from *us Americans* what nature seems to have provided for their indispensable convenience and happiness."

However indiscreet, unpatriotic or censurable from a strictly American standpoint some of the expressions in Wilkinson's alleged letters may seem to be, would anything short of very strong assurances or invitations from Wilkinson have been sufficient to induce Spain to pay such active court to the people of Kentucky as would have caused the Northern States to at last come to the conclusion that it were better to take Kentucky as an unwelcomed sister than to see her elope as the bride of Spain.

It will be noted that as soon as the admission of Kentucky as a State was assured, Wilkinson and Miro grew cool to each other, and that Wilkinson's tobacco was seized or as Gayoso said in his letter of July 5th, 1792, Wilkinson "lost his credit in Kentucky for lack of means to maintain it, "The extra five year's pay that Wilkinson had received as a veteran officer of the Revolution was then all gone and Wilkinson was then a ruined man willing, nay glad, to accept the service and pay as a Colonel of Volunteers of the Indian Fighters of Kentucky.

Daniel Boone was the pioneer of Kentucky but Wilkinson was undoubtedly the pioneer of American trade on the Mississippi River.

To show how petty was the spite manifested against Wilkinson, Gayarre says Governor Gayoso died of a malignant fever on July 18, 1799. This probably was from the yellow fever which was then epidemic in New Orleans. Gayarre then proceeds to claim that Gayoso's death was due to a convivial celebration with Wilkinson.

Of course, it was a heinous offense in Gayarre's view for a Kentucky veteran to stand a celebration that killed off a Spanish Grandee, but it is the first time I ever heard of a malignant fever resulting from a convivial celebration.

That Gayarre was not capable of forming correct judgments, in even trivial affairs is shown by an incident in his own life. While living in Baton Rouge he sent his carriage to a blacksmith at Baton Rouge, the capital, to be repaired. These repairs cost and were worth two dollars. Because the blacksmith required payment before delivery of the carriage, Gayarre's Spanish pride was so outraged that he sued the blacksmith for the carriage and for one thousand dollars damages. The case was carried finally to the Supreme Court of Louisiana where, of course, Gayarre lost. (See decisions Supreme Court of Louisiana.) *Tunnard vs. Gayarre*, 9 Annual p. 254.

The claim that Wilkinson, while sojourning in Louisiana, took an oath of allegiance to Spain, if true, is of no significance. Under

instructions from the King of Spain, Miro after 1785, enforced the laws against strangers rigidly, and no one was allowed to trade in, or remain in the Louisiana colony without taking such an oath. Nor was it improper that one living under the protection of a government, should swear allegiance to that government while in its territory. During the late Civil war, oaths of allegiance were freely taken within Northern and Southern lines, though even the children of the affiants were fighting on the opposite side. If one can take an oath of allegiance to those at war with one's country, through stress of residence, surely Wilkinson had the right, for the protection of his person and property, to take an oath of allegiance while in Louisiana to a country that had aided the colonies in their war for independence and with which his country was then at peace. Daniel Boone, the patron Saint of Kentuckians, while Wilkinson was fighting the savages in defense of Kentuckians was safely away with his two sons in a Spanish province, commandant of the Femme Osage District of Spain. No Spanish land was ever given to Wilkinson, but Boone was given 10,000 arpents choice Spanish land, and in this grant he was dispensed, from what Spain always required to perfect a grant, its settlement and cultivation. After the cession of Louisiana the American Commissioners refused to confirm this grant because it had not been ratified by Governor Carondelet, or settled and cultivated, and on appeal to Congress that body on February 10th, 1814, expressly granted to Boone, a Spanish subject from 1795 until 1804, "1,000 arpents of land."

One of the strongest proofs of the integrity of Wilkinson, is to be found in the fact that the eight volumes of the American State papers which contain all the Spanish land grants, and include hundreds of such grants to American settlers, do not show one grant in Wilkinson's favor. One of his historical calumniators says, Wilkinson wished in 1796 to get a tract of land that Gayoso had, for the balance due him on his pension. To show how vile and baseless such a charge is, the Spanish Governors had a right up to 1798 to make gratuitous land grants, and if Wilkinson was such a prime favorite with both Miro and Gayoso and was a subject of Spain he could have gotten an empire of land for the asking. Daniel Clark got over 100,000 arpents of Spanish land, much of it now in the Parish and City of New Orleans, which was worth, years ago, millions of dollars, not including tracts which the American Land Commissioners refused to confirm title to, declaring he had, through parties interposed, tried to enter same fraudulently.

Wilkinson never got enough land from the Spaniards to serve him for his grave.

One entry in those volumes of American State Papers, Vol. 5, pp. 498-9, shows, that General James Wilkinson bought on May 12th, 1806, from Moreau, the original grantee of Governor Galvez, Dauphin Island at the mouth of the Mobile Bay. The American Commissioners, on the application of Wilkinson's heirs, refused to confirm Wilkinson's title stating, "Wilkinson was not allowed to hold lands under Spain, *not being a Spanish subject.*"

That one entry is eloquent of how much of a Spanish subject Wilkinson really was.

How wonderful moreover that a man charged, from Washington's time, with conspiracies with Spain, should have been selected by the fathers of our republic to lead *every hostile movement of American troops* against Spain down to 1812, and should have succeeded in every such trust.

Collins' History of Kentucky, p. 273, states, that in a campaign against the Indians north of the Ohio, a regular army under General Harmer was defeated in 1790 with dreadful slaughter, over half of the troops being killed. General St. Clair of the regular United States army was thereupon appointed to command and volunteers were called for. The Kentuckians had no confidence in the regular army and its officers as they did not consider they knew how to fight the Indians.

Arthur and Carpenter's History of Kentucky, states that while these troops were being organized an expedition was gotten up by a local war board in Kentucky composed of Scott, Shelby, Logan and Brown, 800 mounted men were called for and responded in June, 1791.

"Wilkinson though holding no commission from the State enlisted for the expedition. He was chosen second in command under General Scott, assuming the title of Colonel, and soon rendered himself conspicuous by his activity, attention and address."

This campaign succeeded, and the same authority says, "After these acts of retaliation on the Indians the Volunteers returned home pleased with their new commander and highly delighted with the conduct of Wilkinson."

Indian depredations continuing in the Southern and Northern parts of Kentucky, Wilkinson published a call in July, 1791, for 500 mounted volunteers to proceed against the Indians. With Wilkinson, as their commanding officer, this little army marched in to the Indian country in August, 1791, and destroyed the village of L'Anguille, killed some warriors and returned without losing a man.

Washington deemed these campaigns of Scott and Wilkinson

so successful and important that he sent a special message to Congress on that subject on October 27th, 1791.

General St. Clair having raised and equipped his army in 1791 began a campaign against the savages, his army was shortly afterwards cut to pieces and Scott and Wilkinson raised a volunteer force, and were about to go to his rescue, when he reappeared.

In December, 1791, Wilkinson was appointed a colonel in the regular army by President Washington, and took command of Fort Washington.

At that time Kentucky had not as yet been admitted as a State. Washington acted advisedly as Butler says, pp. 182, 183.

"On the election of Washington, in 1789, Col. Thomas Marshall, senior, wrote General Washington an account of matters in Kentucky as to intrigue and defection, specially complaining of Wilkinson. Evidently Marshall withdrew his statement later as General Washington wrote him on September 11th, 1790," in a manner that showed that such was the case, and in 1791 appointed Wilkinson."

The following extracts of official letters of President Washington to Wilkinson through his secretary of War, Mr. Knox, shows he placed great confidence in Wilkinson.

War Department, April 3, 1792.

"The expedition to the field of action, is an honorable evidence of your military zeal, and I am happy you returned safely. * * * * * I cannot close this letter sir, without expressing to you, the entire satisfaction of the President of the United States, of the vigilance and discretion, you appear to have exercised since your command; and I flatter myself your judgment and talents will meet with all the approbation to which they will be entitled."

On April 21st, 1792, the same official wrote:

"It is with pleasure, I transmit to you the notification of an appointment of Brigadier General, and I sincerely hope the other gentlemen appointed to act with you, as well as the commanding General will be perfectly agreeable to you."

Again on April 27th, 1792, the same officer writes:

"I confess I shall feel anxious about your return from the establishment of Fort St. Clair, which will be an operation somewhat critical. However, the confidence I have in your intelligence and activity assures me you will avoid all unnecessary hazard."

Again on May 13th, the same officer wrote:

"I have the honor to enclose your commission as Brigadier General. I have not heard of your return from establishing Fort St. Clair, and therefore some anxiety is entertained on that subject. But the confidence in your discretion is no small relief on the occasion."

"Major-General Wayne is still here but will shortly set out, as well Mr. O'Hara, the quartermaster-general." General Wayne joined General Wilkinson soon after this.

It would make this paper too long to review Wilkinson's career through the successful campaign prosecuted up to and including 1794, by General Wayne against the Indians. But a number of historians agree that he showed ability and bravery there. McElvoy's *History of Kentucky* (pp. 180, 181) says:

"In signalling out the heroes of the battle of Fallen Timbers, as History has called it, Wayne in his official report, gives the first place to Brigadier General Wilkinson, whose brave example inspired the troops."

Wilkinson served under Wayne until the latter's death, December 15th, 1796. In 1795 Wayne, hearing that one Jos. Collins had brought certain money from New Orleans to Wilkinson, which money was, as Collins subsequently testified, due Wilkinson for tobacco sold Governor Miro, he without making any charges, directly against Wilkinson, instituted certain researches which offended Wilkinson so much that the latter wrote President Washington on February 6th, 1796, and had his letter delivered in person by Major Cushing. I have the original copy of this letter made and signed by Wilkinson. An enclosure in this letter also by Wilkinson stated among other things,

"That my conduct during the campaign of 1794, was too conspicuous to be equivocal, too ardent to be insincere, and that nothing could be more grateful to my feelings than the most rigorous investigation of it."

Washington paid no attention to these charges, Wilkinson, however repeatedly requested an investigation. This is shown by an excerpt from Wilkinson's letter to President Adams, December 26th, 1797, as follows:

"The death of General Wayne silenced an investigation which I had much at heart, because it would have unfolded scenes and circumstances illustrative of my utility, my integrity and my wrongs, which now can never reach the public eye. So soon as his death was announced in Philadelphia I waited on the Secretary of War and held a conversation with him precisely to the following effect. Prosecution is in the grave with General Wayne, but the door is still open to investigate, and I most sincerely wish an inquiry into my conduct military and political; indeed the vindication of my aspersed reputation has directed the obstinate perseverance with which I have pursued this subject. I know, sir, that a sinister connection with Spain is slanderously imputed to me, * * * * * but conscious of my innocence I court inquiry to obtain an opportunity of vindication, which I have amply in my power. To this Secretary McHenry said he did not know that such things were being said or insinuated, but if they were I must be conscious from the President's conduct to me, that they made no impression on his breast, and added: 'I advise you as a friend to give yourself no more trouble about it.' I followed the advice given me in the hope that the prejudice and animosities of my enemies might subside, but I find I have been deceived, that calumnies are still circulated to wound my fame and impair the public confidence."

To this letter President Adams replied:

Philadelphia, February 4th, 1798.

"I have received your favcrs. It is very true that I have tortured for a great part of the year past with written, anonymous insinuations against several persons in conspicuous, public stations that they have formed improper connection with Spain; and among others against yourself. It has been frequently asserted that you held a commission and received pay as a colonel in the Spanish service. This opinion appears to have taken root among the people on the Mississippi that scarcely any man arrives from that neighborhood, who does not bring the report along with him. They seem to be in such a temper in that neighborhood that *nobody escapes accusation*. * * * * * For yourself, sir, I esteem your talents, I respect your services, and feel an attachment for your persons, as I do to every man whose name and character I have so long known in the service of our country, whose behavior has been consistent. We may be nearer than we suspect to another trial of spirits. I doubt not yours will be found faithful. What measures you may think fit to take to silence the villainous rumors of your connection with Spain or France I know not; but no violent ones or military ones will do any good. I shall give no countenance to any imputations unless accusations should come, and then you will have room to justify yourself. But I assure you that I do not expect that any charge will be seriously made. I am sir, your most obedient servant.

JOHN ADAMS.

On Wilkinson's subsequent trial, President Adams, testified to the above facts, and there, produced a personal letter to him from Alexander Hamilton, recommending Wilkinson's promotion as Major-General, and as Wilkinson is pilloried as a former friend of Burr, let us see what Burr's political enemy, the statesman that Burr killed, thought of him.

New York, 7th, 1799.

"Sir: General Wilkinson, who has been some weeks in this city, in consequence of having for object the readjustment of our military affairs, is about to make a journey to pay his respects to you. On such an occasion, I hope it will not be thought improper that I should address you on the subject of this officer, since what I shall say will accord with what *I know to be the views of General Washington*, and with what I have reasons to believe has been suggested to you with his support by the Secretary of War. You are appraised, sir, that General Wilkinson served with distinction in our revolutionary war and acquired in it the rank of Brigadier General; that for many years since that war he has been in the military service of the government, with the same rank, in which rank he, for some time, had the chief command of the army. That he has served with distinction in the latter period as General Wayne, who was not his friend, has in one instance very amply testified. The decided impression on my mind, as a result of all I have heard, or known of this officer, is, that he is eminently qualified as to talents, is brave, enterprising, active and diligent, warmly animated by the spirit of his profession and devoted to it * * * * * I, as well as others, have heard things said of the General, but I have never seen the shadow of proof; and I have been myself too much the victim of obloquy, to listen to detraction unsupported by facts."

Mediocrity, intemperance, constant plotting and intrigue, have all been laid at Wilkinson's door. Washington declared during his second term that he was himself then worse denounced, than if he had been a Nero. Jefferson was repeatedly charged with political

treachery and even with attempting the judicial assassination of Burr. It was an age of suspicion, invective and abuse. Such charges against Wilkinson were untrue unless Washington, Adams and Jefferson, to whom the former owed his elevation, were alike incompetent to judge of Wilkinson's ability, habits and integrity.

True it is that Marshall, of Kentucky, Wilkinson's former political opponent, said, that Washington promoted Wilkinson to so high a military command to keep him out of mischief. Yet, I cannot imagine of how any one could suppose that that great, proud and austere first President would so debase his high office, as to entrust almost Supreme military power in the West to a man whom he deemed not only an incapable officer, but capable of treachery to his country.

Wilkinson in 1795, was stationed at Cincinnati and the cities of the Ohio.

The most serious charge affecting the reputation of Wilkinson is, that of having received a bribe, or bribes, from Governor Carondelet of Louisiana, in 1797, subsequent to the former's appointment as commander-in-chief of the army.

The evidence, as to this, on which Gayarre and subsequent historians rely, is the testimony of an English Spaniard, Thomas Powers, who testified before the Court Martial that tried Wilkinson in 1811, that he had brought \$9,640 to Wilkinson from New Madrid to Cincinnati, (in the summer of 1796, sent as pension money by Governor Carondelet from New Orleans. Gayarre states the amount brought by Powers, to have been the round sum of ten thousand dollars, but I suppose we should be duly grateful that the exaggeration was so small. Gayarre further states this amount was sent to Wilkinson because he was then a Major-General of the United States and as such Commander-in-Chief, had the power to aid the Spaniards (III Gayarre p. 364.)

General Wayne, Wilkinson's superior officer, died on December 15th, 1796, at Presque Isle, and the latter was not in Supreme Command until the early part of 1797. Wilkinson showed by the account exhibited and evidence adduced by him at his trial in 1811, that \$6,000 on account of the money due him on the former seizure of his tobacco had been forwarded to him in 1794 from New Orleans, but that his messenger, Owens, bringing that amount had been robbed and murdered; that in 1796, \$9,640 was sent on similar account to him at New Madrid, where it was received by his Agent, Philip Nolan, which still left \$2,095 due him on his tobacco; that Nolan employed Powers then at New Madrid to bring this money by water to Louisville while Nolan proceeded overland to that place with a

drove of horses he was then selling; that the specie was packed in sugar barrels to protect it from the Indians and other bandits that infected the lower Ohio as well as to save it from the rapacity of the crew of the boat. Wilkinson admitted that Powers brought this money to Louisville and was paid for his services in 1796. To the critics of such crude methods of protecting or caring for money, I answer, that we had then no iron safes, time locks, or postal guards, that are so common now-a-days.

364 — Gayarre, 3rd Volume 384, states that Powers and Sebastian sailed from New Orleans to see Don Gardaquo at Philadelphia in the spring of 1796. Powers testified that he and Sebastian arrived at Philadelphia after 19 days passage. From Philadelphia they went across by stage to Cincinnati, reaching Cincinnati, on May 18th, 1796.

(See appendix 46 Wilkinson Memoirs, 2nd Volume).

The evidence of all the witnesses is, that Powers went down afterwards from Cincinnati to New Madrid and brought the \$6,640 from New Madrid back to Louisville, and the evidence adduced by Wilkinson showed the money was delivered to Powers by his agent Philip Nolan at New Madrid and was delivered by Powers again to Philip Nolan at Louisville in September, 1796. After Elisha Evans saw the *money at New Madrid* in 1796, he went up the Ohio and stated he met Powers *coming down the Ohio*; Powers testified, "that after delivering the money to *Nolan* at Louisville in pursuance of my directions, Nolan conveyed the barrels of sugar and coffee, in which the dollars were packed, to Frankfurt where he, the deponent, Powers saw them opened in the store of Mr. Montgomery Brown." (See report of Butler Committee of Congress p. 39.)

There was no attempt at secrecy in either the receipt of or in the forwarding of this money. If the Spaniards were forwarding by a secret emissary ten thousand dollars as a bribe to a leading American; the slightest publicity given to the matter would have defeated the very object sought and would have brought disgrace to the givers as well as the receiver of the bribe.

In the evidence taken before Congress, in 1810, Elisha Winters testified against Wilkinson, that the Spanish commandant at New Madrid told him freely of the amount going to Wilkinson in 1796, and showed him the chest of Spanish dollars. That he, Winters, wrote out the full particulars of this and gave same to General Wayne and afterwards saw his letter in the hands of Mr. McHenry, the Secretary of War, under President Washington. (2d Memoirs appendix 35.)

On February 6th, 1796, six months before this incident, Wilkin-

son was pleading in writing with President Washington, and with this very secretary for a searching inquiry of this conduct with Spain. His explanations must have been entirely satisfactory since Alexander Hamilton wrote that Washington before his death wished to see Wilkinson promoted to the Chief command.

To show how sadly Gayarre got his facts jumbled up, he says (3 Vol.364) that after Powers had gone to Philadelphia in the Spring of 1796, he *soon* returned to Kentucky with a memorial from the Baron de Carondelet, and with tempting offers.

"To back these tempting offers, and to smooth difficulties, money had been *sent up* the Mississippi and the Ohio, and Powers, who had several interviews with Wilkinson delivered to him \$10,000, which he carried up concealed in bags of sugar and coffee. Wilkinson had *just been* appointed Major General of the United States army in the place of Wayne, who had *died recently*, and Powers was directed to avail himself of his intercourse with Wilkinson to ascertain the force discipline and temper of the army under that General, and report thereon to Carondelet," (3 Gayarre 364).

To all of which memorial Wilkinson is alleged to have returned an emphatic refusal to aid Spain.

Now it is hard to get more errors in a small compass than this. Powers came to the Ohio from Gardoquo at Philadelphia in 1796, and not from Carondelet at New Orleans. The incident as to the money took place in 1796, as all the evidence shows, yet in order to justify his bribe theory Gayarre kills off General Wayne months before he died, promotes Wilkinson to the Supreme Command of the army in 1796 instead of the actual time 1797, and either post-dates the alleged bribe or antedates Carondelet's memorial one year so as to combine the bribe and the Memorial.

On April 12th, 1802, Wilkinson, Hawkins and Anderson were appointed by President Jefferson to negotiate a treaty and lay off the boundary between the Creek Nations and the United States in the State of Georgia. (See Message of President Jefferson, December 13th, 1804.)

Wilkinson Memoirs (2nd Vol., p. 248), says:

"Having completed the demarcation of the Indian boundary under extreme ill health during an inclement season, I arrived at Fort Adams the 27th of January, 1803, and took shelter under a roof the first time in six months."

Prior to this on October 16th, 1802, the Intendant Morales had suspended the right of deposit at New Orleans guaranteed to the American settlements on the river above by the treaty of 1795. The

answer of the west to this violation of their rights was, "No power on earth will deprive us of this right. * * * * * If Congress refuses us effectual protection, if it forsakes us, we will adopt measures that our safety requires, even if they endanger the peace of the Union and our connection with other States,—*No Protection—No Allegiance.*" (3rd Gayarre, p. 457).

Wilkinson was at that time in the wilds of Georgia or he, no doubt, would have been held responsible for these bold utterances by men who 13 years later helped to save the day for American arms at Chalmette.

Wilkinson had heard of the annulment by Morales of the right of deposit at New Orleans, guaranteed by the treaty of 1795, and had sent Captain Schaumburgh to protest against this occlusion. Foreseeing the certain war that this act of the Spaniards would bring on, Wilkinson sent a secret letter to Vice-Consul Huling which asked, from the latter, a full report of the fortifications on New Orleans. His letter to Huling and Huling's reply are cited in his Memoirs (Vol. II, appendix). This followed the appointment of Livingston, and subsequently Monroe, as commissioners to France and their successful treaty for Louisiana. At the cession proceedings Jefferson chose Claiborne, Governor of Mississippi, representing the Civil Power, and Wilkinson, the highest military officer in the South, to represent the army, to receive Louisiana at the hands of the French, thus answering Clark and other slanderers who had been defaming Wilkinson to him.

One historian has said:

"To the last Wilkinson was protected and honored by Jefferson; was thanked by the Legislature for betraying Burr; was acquitted by a packed court of inquiry, and has left behind him, in justification of his life and deeds, three ponderous volumes of Memoirs as false as any written by man." (McMaster's History U. S., Vol. 3rd, p. 88).

Wilkinson attached to his Memoirs over 300 pages of authentic evidence in appendix.

How lost to public decency a writer must be, who without the slightest proof to sustain it, charges Jefferson with packing a court to acquit any man and that a body of honorable officers of the revolution constituting such court corruptly violated their oaths.

Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West," indulges in many strictures against Wilkinson. This writer, though noted as a seceder from every person or party that has not agreed with him, has no patience with Wilkinson's leanings towards secession.

Mr. Roosevelt has not the poise to meet the requirements of an

historian, as that which does not seem "bully" to him or with which he is not "delighted" is apt to meet his too severe condemnation.

As I do not wish to be elected a member of Mr. Roosevelt's Ananias Club, I pass on to a discussion of the views of later writers as to Wilkinson's record.

Prof. Shepherd in his article on Wilkinson in the 9th Volume American Historical Review, p. 503, says:

"Gayarre is misleading when he states (Vol. III, p. 195) that on the occasion of Wilkinson's first visit, Miro gave Wilkinson permission to introduce into Louisiana, free of duty, many western articles of trade which were adapted to this market." * * * * * "There are several reasons to believe the contrary."

"Among them may be mentioned first, aside from the proverbial caution of the Spanish officials, the fact is that the laws of the Indies prohibited the grant of commercial privileges to foreigners without the specific approval of the home government."

"In the second place, the Spanish Colonial officials were accustomed to render the most minute reports of their administration, particularly if the business belonged to the reserved or secret class."

Prof. Shepherd also lays stress on Wilkinson's alleged oath of allegiance to Spain in 1789, and the latter's memorial of 1797, all of which have been fully discussed by me.

The latest article I have noted on Wilkinson is from the scholarly pen of Prof. I. J. Cox, another Northern historian.

This article is printed in Vol. 19 American Historical Review, p. 794, and charges Wilkinson in the Spring of 1804, to use a common and expressive term, with having "maced" Governors Folch and the Marquis de Casa Calvo out of \$12,000.00, for certain "reflections" that Wilkinson wrote, and Folch translated and signed and sent in his own name to his home government. This is alleged to have occurred shortly after the time of the transfer of Louisiana, and is probably the weakest of the many weak attacks made on Wilkinson. It is on its face extremely improbable. No people on earth were ever more proud of their military knowledge and training than the Spanish Military Officials, and no class of men, from the cruel Cortes down, were more noted for their capacity to get and unwillingness to give.

Prof. Cox would have us believe that Casa Calvo, a Spanish Grandee and general, gave Wilkinson \$12,000.00 for his "reflections" and this without the authorization from his home government.

Miro deemed such an authorization necessary for even a proposed pension of \$2,000.00.

Martin's History of Louisiana, p. 323, says. After the cession of Louisiana,

"Considerable distress was felt from the great scarcity of a circulating medium, *silver was no longer brought from Vera Cruz* by the government and the Spaniards were not very anxious to redeem a large quantity of *liberanzas*, or certificates, which they had left afloat in the province and which were greatly depreciated."

If Casa Calvo had the \$100,000.00 of government money then on hand, as Prof. Cox states, it was no doubt to pay a part of the enormous sum of \$400,000.00 that Spain then owed in Louisiana, and the receipt of which the Intendant Morales waited for in vain when he was expelled with Casa Calvo by Claiborne in 1806. Therefore, it would have been necessary for Casa Calvo to have embezzled or diverted some \$12,000.00 of this money from its proper destination, and to have given same to an officer whose recent conduct had shown his zeal against Spain and his devotion to his own country. I do not mean to say that Casa Calvo was too good to do such a thing, but the Spaniards had not suffered as the Egyptians had, when their departing hosts, led by Moses, "Spoiled the Egyptians," and I do not think the Spaniards could have been such easy marks. The sole authority for these statements of Prof. Cox are reports made by Governor Folch to his home government.

When the first court of inquiry was held in 1808 at Washington to examine into Wilkinson's conduct, the latter produced a letter from Governor Folch and later the latter's sworn testimony, obtained by Governor Claiborne, that Wilkinson was entirely innocent of all these charges. This sworn testimony of Folch was fortified by the testimony of Gilberto Leonard, the former Spanish treasurer, who Claiborne in his letter to Madison of January 31st, 1804, declared was a man of integrity. But says Prof. Cox, this testimony of Gov. Folch was obtained by allowing him, in violation of Jefferson's embargo, to get through New Orleans a shipment of 1500 barrels of flour to the starving people of Pensacola. It is an elementary rule of law that both the previous verbal and written statements of a witness may be adduced to impeach his sworn evidence.. Here it is averred that the witness was bribed to make and did make false sworn declarations and yet Professor Cox asks us to give full faith and credit, not to the sworn, but to the later unsworn and *exparte* declarations of the same witness. Again Wilkinson was in Washington during this time and Governor Claiborne was in full charge of the Port of New Orleans. Any such attempts to bribe Gov. Folch must have been made with and could not have been carried out without Claiborne's knowledge, assent and connivance. Claiborne certainly did not bribe or suborn Folch to give false testimony.

Daniel Clark before his open rupture with Wilkinson in his

letter to the latter, dated February 7th, 1807, (Wilkinson's Memoirs Vol. 2nd, Appendix 57) speaks of this rumor, "As to your having received \$10,000.00 when you went to take possession, I have pointed out the utter impossibility of such a thing."

But one thing was not impossible, Casa Calvo and Folch could have spent this money and then charged it to a source which their own government would have been tempted to keep quiet about.

Of Casa Calvo, only a few months before, Laussat had written to his home government, "The same Marquis de Casa Calvo, was, in January, 1793, and during the following months in command of Fort Dauphin at St. Domingo, and was at the head of his troops drawn up in battle array, when the blacks led by Jean Francois massacred seventy-seven defenseless Frenchmen, who were relying on the faith of treaties. The Colonists of St. Domingo still speak of this fact with feelings of horror."

In Lewis and Clark's Journal, Vol. 7, Appendix p. 379,

Capt. Meriwether Lewis, who went to St. Louis in 1804, before its transfer from Spain, says:

"From the commencement of the Spanish Provincial government of Louisiana, whether by permission of the crown, or originating in the pecuniary rapacity of the Governor's General, this officer assumed to himself the right of trading with all the Indian Nations in Louisiana; and therefore proceeded to dispose of this privilege to individuals for specific sums; his example was followed by the governors of upper Louisiana, who made a further exaction."

"The evil resulting from high prices for necessities of life to the Indians caused so much trouble by the latter, that expeditions had to be set on foot to quell them. These parties rarely accomplished anything, but Lewis adds, the soldiers on their return were made to sign receipts for about four times as much as they received, "and the balance was of course taken by the governor."

About the same time Governor Claiborne wrote to Madison, January 2nd, 1804, "It is a shameful fact that under the administration of Governor Salcedo many of the positions of honor and profit within his gift were sold, and that even when exercising the sacred character of a judge he often vended his decisions."

"After such an account you will not be surprised that the same depravities pervaded the system in every direction."

"The arrears in the department of justice are very great, many of the causes are of considerable importance and some of them have been pending upwards of twenty years. Corruption has put her seal on them." (Robertson's Louisiana, Vol. 2, p. 23.)

Probably Casa Calvo was no better than Salcedo. The record shows the Spanish rulers of Louisiana had just prior to that time tried to defraud the United States out of large tracts of lands by ante-dated grants. Spain still owed Wilkinson \$2,095.00 a long overdue

balance on his tobacco, and Casa Calvo and Folch may have followed the example of the unfaithful steward in scripture by casting up false accounts to their ultimate advantage.

The Marquis of Casa Calvo's mission in Louisiana was to act as boundary commissioner; which was to see that Spain got as much and the United States as little as possible of the ceded territory. To this end, the Marquis appointed on March 31st, 1804, the crafty Don Thomas Power as one of the surveyors.

(Robertson's Louisiana Vol. 2, 174).

The same authority quotes a letter of March 31st, 1804, from Casa Calvo to Laussat in which the former protested to Laussat about the American claims. Robertson also quotes several letters from Casa Calvo to the Spanish Minister, from the archives of Madrid denouncing the American claims, which claims were of course championed by both Wilkinson and Claiborne to the President.

Finally on January 10th, 1806, Governor Claiborne wrote Casa Calvo stating his authority to act as boundary commissioner, had never been accepted by the United States and as there was no possibility of their agreement on the subject his presence here was no longer desirable.

Not only, as I will hereafter show, was the Spanish government then robbing with rapacious greed the people and even the churches of Mexico, to send money to the infamous Godoy and his mercenaries in Spain, but Louisiana had slipped from the failing hand of that bankrupted government, the latter owed the people of her former colony nearly a half million dollars, and the Spanish paper currency called Liberanzas was then circulating at a ruinous discount in New Orleans and nothing was being done to redeem it. (Martin p. 323).

It is more than improbable that Casa Calvo had any large amount of money at all in New Orleans in 1804. In his letters to his home government, quoted in Robertson's Louisiana, he mentions the employment of two surveyors, one of whom was the notorious Thomas Power, as I have said, and this survey work did not require much money, and none of it was ever actually done. The claim is made that he brought this \$100,000.00 from Vera Cruz in silver and that the \$12,000, it is alleged he paid Wilkinson, was in bags of this same silver, the large part of which was invested by Wilkinson in "*a cargo of sugar*" that he took with him to Philadelphia.

Now one hundred thousand dollars of silver would have weighed over 7,000 pounds, and \$12,000.00, of silver, 1,000 pounds, or three mule loads of silver. Gayarre states that when Casa Calvo left Louisiana *overland* in 1806 it was "*suspected*" he took considerable

money with him. It would have taken a caravan of at least 20 mules to have carried away \$100,000.00 of silver and *suspicion* would hardly have been necessary concerning what would then have been a patent fact.

I submit further that the affidavit of John McDonaugh, Junior, in Clark's Proofs, p. 51, is also questionable. This affidavit states that in March, 1804, affiant bought for Wilkinson 107 hogshead of sugar for \$8,045.35; that he, affiant, chartered the ship Louisiana, for Wilkinson, to take this sugar to Philadelphia on which ship the General also took passage; that Wilkinson paid for this sugar in Mexican dollars.

In the Louisiana Gazette of that time sugar is quoted at 10 to 15 cents a pound. Allowing 1,000 pounds to each of the above hogsheads, the entire weight would have been only 53½-tons, a very small quantity of freight to warrant the charter of an entire ship for a 1,200 mile ocean voyage. It would therefore seem that this witness was either lying or exaggerating. Wilkinson's pay as a General in the army with allowances was between \$3,000 and \$4,000 a year while on active service. He had been working for years on the frontier and among the Indians in Georgia where all his expenses had been paid, and he had there no chance to spend money. Besides he stated that the government had allowed him extra for his survey work which was paid to him by Mr. Taylor, the disbursing agent. This purchase of sugar, if made at all by Wilkinson, was open and not by a party interposed and the payment, as alleged, if made, was entirely open. The quantity may have been exaggerated, since McDonaugh, Junior, errs even in his date, March, 1804, for on March, 24th, 1804, Governor Claiborne wrote Madison, "Wilkinson is still here, and I believe will not depart until the Spanish troops are withdrawn and the public buildings delivered."

Clark claims that Taylor was then dead, but such payments of disbursing officers are all of record in Washington. Clark was a member of Congress there two years later, and his chief mission on earth at that time was to hunt up evidence against Wilkinson.

He made this special charge against Wilkinson in his "Proofs," but it was entirely ignored and dropped in the charges made against Wilkinson in 1810, which latter were all based on Randolph and Clark's attacks. Merchandise of that period was usually paid for in New Orleans in Mexican silver. There was no other money then in circulation in New Orleans. There were no mints in this country south of Philadelphia. Mexican money largely circulated all over the South and even in the East and West Indies up to the Civil War.

There was always more pure silver in the Mexican sunburst than in our own dollar.

Northern historians are singularly silent on those statesmen of the North, who, during all this time, were willing to rend the Union whenever their interest prompted it, and yet they twist every circumstance to fit their attacks on Wilkinson.

This article of Prof. Cox contains a statement as to the testimony of Isaac Briggs from "Wilkinson's Memoirs, 2nd Volume, Appendix 59," which is grossly incorrect. Briggs there stated that he held a conversation with Wilkinson in October, 1806, in which Wilkinson jestingly referred to himself as "a Spanish officer on his way to fight the Spaniards," and of how he had received \$10,000.00 from them in 1804. Professor Cox states that Briggs testified he visited Wilkinson again in the middle of November, 1806, when the latter's wife was at the point of death at Major Minor's house at Natchez, and that Wilkinson assured him then, that the money he received *in 1804* at New Orleans from the Spaniards was due him for tobacco.

In the Briggs deposition, every line of which I have examined most carefully, no reference whatever is made to this subject on this visit of Briggs to Wilkinson in November, and in his deposition, as to the former interview in October, Briggs on his cross examination expressly declared Wilkinson "spoke *jocularly* and *precipitately*." (Appendix 59).

I submit it is not fair to turn what a witness expressly says was stated to him in jest by the speaker, as an admission of the latter's guilt.

Wilkinson remained in New Orleans for some months after Governor Claiborne assumed control. In 1805 Wilkinson was made military governor of upper Louisiana, with headquarters at St. Louis. Under orders of the War Department, dated March 13th, 1806, he was ordered to send most of his forces down the river to Fort Adams.

On March 18th, 1806, he was notified that the Spaniards were making a reinforcement of the post of Natchitoches necessary, and to that end to send Col. Cushing with several companies and artillery there. Shortly after receiving this order Col. Cushing was sent down with discretionary powers over his force.

On May 6th, 1806, Wilkinson received orders from the War Department to repair himself to the Territory of Orleans, and take command, to resist any encroachments by Spaniards thereon, and to repel invasion and oppose force by force, but his specific orders were:

"It is highly probable that within a very short time, we shall receive accounts of a satisfactory adjustment of all disputes between us and Spain; hostilities ought, therefore, to be avoided *by all reasonable means within our power*, but an actual invasion of our territory cannot be submitted to."

Wilkinson, finding the Spaniards had encroached on Louisiana soil, acting in obedience to his orders, arranged a conference with the Spanish Commander, and induced him to keep his forces to the west side of the Sabine, to await the result of later negotiations, which were successful, thereby achieving a bloodless victory, for which he was much complimented by President Jefferson. While engaged in this campaign, an emissary of Burr, Samuel Swarthout, delivered a letter from him in cipher to Wilkinson at Natchitoches, October 8th, 1806.

Some historical hyenas evoke suspicion against Wilkinson from the use of this cipher. Wilkinson, however, proved on his trial that he corresponded in the same cipher **with Burr** when he was Vice-President, and with other army officers whom he named, and produced such letters. Burr loved the mysterious so much that he corresponded in cipher with his own daughter.

In Jefferson's writing will be found a number of his letters declaring that he refrained from writing often because the mails were not safe and his letters were subject to espionage. That the chief officer in the United States army should be suspected, because he had corresponded in cipher with the man who, up to the year previous, was Vice-President, would be to suspect every prominent official of the present day of crime.

Even the writers who accuse Wilkinson of venality admit he was keen and brilliant. He was then at the summit of military power. The warrior Joab was not closer to David than he was to the President. That he should throw all this away; throw away a long record of military bravery and loyalty in which he fought from the lowest rank to supreme command, to become second in command to a man that Wilkinson pitied and tried to help, in vain, in 1805, second in command too, if Burr's claims were true, on an uncertain filibustering expedition, like those later of Walker in Nicaragua and Fry in Cuba, would certainly not show venality, but sheer insanity. The ill informed writers who say Wilkinson first intended to attack the Spaniards and then concluded not to attack them, and to betray Burr, lose sight of the fact that Wilkinson in his actions towards the Spaniards complied exactly with the orders of the President of the United States given him beforehand; that if he had disobeyed

these orders and, without first having held a conference had attacked the Spaniards and caused great loss of life, he could have been court-martialed and shot. These attacks are on a par with an attack of another historical scavenger, who claims that jealousy prompted Wilkinson to send Trueman and Hardin, two of his officers, under a flag of truce in 1792, to the Indians, both of these officers being murdered on that mission. The records show that Wilkinson was ordered by Washington, through the War Department, dated April 3rd, 1792, to make no attack on the Indians until he had extended the olive branch. This order further read:

"In pursuance of the design of peace Captain Trueman is by his own request and desire employed on a mission to the hostile Indians. He will disclose to you his instructions and the message to the said Indians of which he is the bearer. You will advise him the most direct measures to accomplish his object and afford him every possible aid to that end."

And by letter from General Knox, Secretary of War, dated July 17th, 1792, the appointment of Colonel Hardin, selected to go with Trueman, was noticed and, "the terms you stipulated to Col. Hardin shall be performed on the part of the public."

The first military service that was performed by George Washington was on such a mission.

Even so fair and kindly an historian as the late President of this society, Mr. Fortier, has impliedly charged Wilkinson with the great mortality of his troops in 1809 by camping at a morass or swamp in Terre aux Boeufs, below the city, when as District Attorney of that District for twelve years, I know the site where Wilkinson encamped his troops at Terre aux Boeufs is the highest land between New Orleans and the mouth of the river, over 100 miles distant, and has much better natural drainage than the city of New Orleans, being a high ridge of land that extends from the river for 15 miles back in the interior.

The defamers of Wilkinson also failed to note the fact that all the previous charges made against Wilkinson were that he was strongly pro-Spanish, while, whatever doubt there was of the true object of Burr's expedition, there was no doubt on the point that it was to be against Mexico or some other dependency of Spain. Burr, knowing Wilkinson loved adventure and that he had once been active for the secession of the settlements of Kentucky, believed he could be readily induced to act with him. Conspirators do not arrest each other when they have been writing in cipher to each other on the subject of conspiracies, unless, like Samson, they desire to pull down a temple on themselves. Wilkinson, then living under a different

form of a stable government, in a territory justly belonging to the United States, refused to act with Burr. The arrest of Burr, Burr's second arrest after he attempted to escape, the action of the same Judge, that fined General Jackson and Judge Workman's similar action against Wilkinson, the forwarding of Burr for trial to Virginia and his subsequent acquittal, are all well known. While Burr, after his acquittal, and every witness that knew anything, were living to testify against Wilkinson on his trial in 1811, the latter was then acquitted by a jury of his peers of all complicity in the Burr conspiracy.

Even John Randolph, Wilkinson's bitter enemy and the person who acted as foreman of the Grand Jury that indicted Burr, could not scrape up enough evidence to indict Wilkinson of complicity with Burr, much less to prove him guilty.

The defamers of Wilkinson all fail to note that fact, as found by Wilkinson's court-martial later, that the latter could have attacked the Spaniards at the Sabine river, thereby engaging his troops with the enemy and thus have left the field clear for Burr's forces against New Orleans, and this without incurring the least responsibility to himself, if Burr had failed in his undertaking.

The charge, that Wilkinson gave Burr suspicious letters of introduction to General Adair and to Daniel Clark are fully explained in his Memoirs. Burr at that time desired to be elected as a delegate to Congress from one of the territories and had made successive suggestions in that direction as to Tennessee, Indiana and Louisiana. These letters, seeking support for Burr, a non-resident, left the latter to explain to the recipients of these letters his own candidacy. Wilkinson's expression in his letter to Adair, most seized upon, was,

"Colonel Burr understands your merits and reckons on you. Prepare to visit me and I will tell you all.

We must have a peep at the unknown world beyond me. I shall want a pair of strong carriage horses at about \$120.00 each, young and sound, substantial but not flashy." * * * * *

St. Louis was at that time our most western city, Wilkinson's son James was then preparing to leave with the Pike survey party towards the Rocky Mountains, and that no warlike expedition was then contemplated is shown by the fact that the proposed trip was to be by carriage. Eight months later, United States Senator Adair wrote to Wilkinson from Washington, on January 27th, 1806, saying,

"Burr's business in the west is to avoid a prosecution in New York * * * * * Both the ruling parties in New York

have made proposals to Colonel Burr offering to pass a law pardoning all his past and promising to elect him Governor if he will return. He left this a few days ago for the South and will return before the session closes. Whether he will accept their proposals I cannot say."

Burr wrote the same month from Philadelphia to Wilkinson on January 6th, 1806.

"We are to have no Spanish war except in ink and words. It is undoubtedly best, for we are in a poor condition to go to war, even with Spain."

It is therefore only fair to suppose that Wilkinson's letter introducing Burr to Adair did not refer to a warlike expedition, since nothing appears to have been contemplated of that character between the date of the letter of introduction, May 28th, 1805, and the letters of January, 1806, quoted above and both published at greater length in Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, Vol. II, Appendix. That Adair himself, attached no suspicion to this letter of Wilkinson is shown by a quotation from "*Memoirs of Aaron Burr*" by Davis, (Volume 2nd, page 379.)

"General Adair possessed the confidence of Colonel Burr in relation to his western movements *in a greater degree than any other individual.*" Burr was introduced to Adair by General Wilkinson. In a letter dated March, 1807, General Adair says:

"So far as I know or believe of the intentions of Colonel Burr, and my enemies will agree *that I am not ignorant on this subject*, they were to prepare and lead an expedition *into Mexico*, predicated on a war between the two governments."

General Adair said further that Wilkinson agreed to act with Burr in this and that the former had,

"Made a venal and shameful bargain with the Spaniards at Sabine River."

Burr seems to have had such wonderful powers of fascination or personal magnetism as to have hypnotized some of his followers.

How inconsistent it is for historians to condemn Wilkinson for having given a letter of introduction to Burr, when Adair, the recipient of that letter, later declares that Burr intended no wrong. One of the most singular of the angles of the attacks on Wilkinson was that while the friends of Burr were most bitter in assailing Wilkinson as a factor in the Burr conspiracy, they at the same time claimed that the leader of the conspiracy was himself perfectly innocent.

To show what sophistry Adair resorted to, he could see nothing wrong in an attack on Mexico, a country with which we were then at peace.

His attacks on Wilkinson were unethical and absurd on their face. As a soldier he knew that a soldier's first duty was loyal obedience to his commander, the President.

One would have supposed that a good citizen would have rejoiced that Wilkinson had obeyed the orders of the President and achieved an honorable and bloodless peace at the Sabine instead of denouncing Wilkinson because that peace left the little army under Wilkinson free to crush Burr's plans. I am willing to concede that up to the time that Wilkinson received Burr's cipher letter from Swarthout near Natchitoches on October 8th, 1806, neither he, nor any one in Louisiana, believed that Burr had any serious designs against any United States territory.

While Adair was much with Burr, Wilkinson had only seen the latter, after leaving Washington, twice in 1805 and not once in 1806, and had not heard from him but three times in 1806. I have shown that Burr wrote Wilkinson a letter on January 6th, 1806, declaring there was no chance for a war with Spain, and he then being near the seat of government ought to have been better posted than Wilkinson, in far off St. Louis. But later that spring the Spaniards increased their forces at Mobile on the east, and a large force invaded Louisiana at Sabine river on the west, and Wilkinson received orders to send a force to the latter territory, in March, 1806, and later, in May, to go there himself. Wilkinson admits when he first heard the news of the encroachments of the Spaniards he said to many people he believed it meant war.

He had held no communications with Burr since the previous October and was busily engaged with his military preparations at St. Louis, when on May 12th, 1806, he received the following letter from Burr which is published in the appendix to the second volume of his Memoirs.

April 16th, 1806.

"The execution of our project is postponed until December; want of water in the Ohio rendered movement impracticable; other reasons rendered delay expedient. The association is enlarged and comprises all that Wilkinson could wish. Confidence limited to a few. Though this delay is irksome it will enable us to move with certainty and dignity. Burr will be throughout the United States this summer. Administration is damned which *Randolph* aids. Burr wrote you a long letter last December replying to a short one deemed *very silly*. *Nothing has been heard of Brigadier since October*. Is Cusion at Portes right. Address, Burr, Washington."

This letter is published in Wilkinson's Memoirs, 2nd Volume,

Appendix 83. Wilkinson declared that he never got the letter Burr said he had written in December, but he produced the one written later to him by Burr in January, 1806.

In those January letters not a hint was given, either by Burr, or by his self-avowed confidant Adair, of any proposed expedition. If Wilkinson was to have been the moving spirit of any such expedition and was to have constituted it's military arm, why had the "Brigadier" not been heard from for over six months and why had he not been considered important enough to consult, as to when, and where, the movement was to be launched. At first blush it would seem that Burr's troubles had then unsettled his mind.

No doubt the rapid change in the Spanish situation had inspired him with the idea of launching some military movement in which he strongly counted on Wilkinson's aid against the Spanish authorities, but Wilkinson's critics have always charged that he had a leaning to Spain and in this instance he should be given at least the credit of not going to war on his own account against her without cause.

Wilkinson wrote the following day, May 13th, 1806, asking Burr, to explain what he meant by this letter. I will show later how Burr, after a hypocritical pretence that he could not possibly show what had been written to him in confidence, on being requested by Wilkinson, in open court, to produce this and all other letters that he had written to him, refused to do so claiming he had given this particular letter to a third party. Who that party was Burr did not state, as he, if known, could have been summoned to produce this letter. I call particular attention to the fact that the most bitter charges were made against Wilkinson both before and after the Burr trial, the daughter of Burr having written a book against him, yet this letter, demanded by Wilkinson face to face with Burr, has never as yet been produced.

I attach little importance to the charge that Wilkinson furnished Burr a boat to go down the Mississippi River in 1805, as Andrew Jackson had furnished Burr a boat on the Ohio, to do the same on that river, had entertained him elaborately, and Davis in his *Memoirs of Burr*, (Volume 2, page 382) says, "Jackson promised to aid Burr in his invasion of Mexico with a whole division of troops." Jackson also went to Burr's defense at Richmond and made a speech on the streets there in his defense.

But the truth is, that Wilkinson did not furnish Burr with either a boat or crew to go down the Mississippi in 1805. Capt Daniel Hughes testified before the Bacon Committee in 1811:

"Q. Did General Wilkinson send a boat for Colonel Burr, to the mouth of the Cumberland?

A. No, I do not believe he did. Col. Burr came down the river in his own flat, passed a boat in which I lodged, and was hailed by a sentinel before he landed.

Q. Did General Wilkinson furnish Col. Burr a crew or a barge to descend the river, and what was his mode of transport?

A. No, Colonel Burr embarked in a barge, the private property of Capt. Bissell, manned by a crew taken from a detachment, which had been ordered to reinforce the *lower posts* on the Mississippi."

A very careful examination of certain of the salient facts connected with the Burr conspiracy has not been made in any of the many publications that I have read on this subject.

The very causes of Burr's unpopularity in Puritanical and righteous New England made Burr a hero in the West and South with such men as Jackson who believed in the duelling code.

In Creole New Orleans, particularly, duelling was so fixed an institution that Mr. Lewis, the brother-in-law of the governor, was killed in 1806 and in 1807 it's governor was wounded in a duel by the member of Congress from that territory and nothing was thought of it.

When Burr went down to New Orleans in 1805 he received an ovation. His stepson, Prevost, was one of the Superior Judges of Louisiana. Burr immediately allied himself with the party opposed to Governor Claiborne, in fact Burr's friends claimed that Claiborne's appointment, as the territorial governor of Mississippi, was but a reward for his vote for Jefferson, for President, in Congress, two years before his appointment as Governor. If this be true it may be said that for such service Claiborne deserved much more from his country.

On Burr's expedition down the Ohio in November, 1806, he was again the recipient of the greatest attention. Even after his arrest and trials at Frankfurt he was given a banquet. Burr was conceded to be a man of courage. Now Adair and other friends of Burr declare he only contemplated an invasion of Mexico. Wilkinson became convinced, as well as did Governor Claiborne, that Burr had hostile intentions against New Orleans after Burr's cipher letter to him, written in July and received by Wilkinson October 8th, 1806.

The North American Review (Vol. 49) says:

"That there was really a double plot seems hardly deniable. * * * * *

* * * * * This double plot was characteristic of Burr. He found in the west he had to deal with a decided attachment to the Union and the ad-

ministration of Jefferson. In order to get over this he gave out among those to be affected by it that his project was only against Mexico and that that in this he was promised both the cooperation of the British and American governments while to his more intimate associates he breathed a spirit nothing short of utter contempt and enmity to the institutions of the United States themselves."

Wilkinson's opinion, formed from Burr's and Dayton's letters and from Swarthout's statements, was strengthened by other news of Burr's intended descent with his forces to New Orleans, which all agree was Burr's prospective destination. Now none of the words I have read noted that the route then to Mexico coming down via the Mississippi River from the Ohio was to turn westward when Red River was reached and ascend that river to Natchitoches and then to proceed westward over land to Texas.

New Orleans was then, and is now, flanked on both the east and west by impenetrable marshes too soft for foot soldiers to march in, for at least fifty miles. There is no pretence that Burr had then any fleet at New Orleans to transport his troops by sea to Mexico. To have come down to New Orleans, 208 miles below the mouth of Red River, and then to have ascended *against the current* back to Red River would have added to his trip at least five hundred miles. Besides this, If Burr expected aid from Wilkinson, he then knew that Wilkinson and his forces were already near the banks of the Sabine at the Texas border.

Jefferson declared that Burr's real intention, was to capture New Orleans and to loot the banks there, to furnish the funds to fit out his expedition. It is also claimed that Daniel Clark, was an accessory, and was himself to advance fifty thousand dollars to Burr, but as shown hereafter, Clark while devoted to Burr, had little cash money about that time.

Now if Adair was right and Wilkinson wrong in their respective surmises as to Burr's intentions, when Burr was arrested at Bayou Pierre coming down the Mississippi River, and released under bond at Washington, Miss., why did he then seek refuge in flight? The Good Book says, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." No man was pursuing Burr at that time. He had a powerful coterie of friends both in the west and at New Orleans, including the powerful Edward Livingston, subsequently one of his lawyers. Yet Burr not only fled, but he fled in disguise and under an assumed name. A reward of \$2,000 was offered for his arrest, and he was arrested on February the 9th, 1807, while working his way eastward to Spanish Florida through the woods near Wakefield, Alabama. He was later taken to Richmond for trial.

He attempted again to escape on his way to Richmond, and appealed to bystanders for help.

In McCaleb's book on Aaron Burr, which is largely a defense of the latter, the excuse is given for this flight, that Burr might have feared violence at the hands of Wilkinson. Burr had then been released by the Judges on \$5,000.00 bail, was not under confinement, and was being then made the object of much hospitality and attention. The great Henry Clay, his former attorney, Andrew Jackson, and a host of others, were his friends and no one would have dared to do him violence. None of the calumniators of Wilkinson have ever charged that he was an assassin. The real truth was that Burr feared his person would be demanded in other jurisdictions where better proof could be had against him than in Mississippi, and therefore, he forfeited his bail and fled.

In the report of the proceedings published in the Louisiana Gazette of Friday February 27th, 1807, (now in the City Hall, New Orleans) the Attorney-General Poindexter stated to the court, that under the depositions on file against Burr, the Court had no jurisdiction. "He further observed, that in order to procure the public safety, the Territorial Judges ought immediately to convey the accused to a tribunal competent to try and punish him (if guilty of the charges against him) *which they might legally do.*"

To thus Burr objected. In consequence of this view of the Attorney General, no indictments were presented for the Grand Jury to act on, and the Grand Jury was later discharged after stating they had no presentments to make against Burr, etc. The question then was whether the court should cancel the bond and discharge Burr when they discharged the Grand Jury, or hold him on his bond subject to prosecution in another jurisdiction.

Burr's former discharge in Kentucky had not prevented the later expedition down the Mississippi River and the court, though at first divided, refused to cancel Burr's bond; hence his flight.

It is remarkable that every attack on Wilkinson harks back to Daniel Clark, the friend of Burr, or to the attorneys for Burr. As was truthfully said by Jefferson in his letter to Wilkinson, on June 21st, 1807, "But it was soon apparent that the clamorous were only the criminal endeavoring to turn the public attention from themselves, and their leader upon any other object."

Burr and his friends, with lawyers hired in almost every large city, to act as his "claquers," were doing their utmost to prove that this prosecution was instigated by Wilkinson.

One query repeated in the Louisiana Gazette of April 31st, 1807,

as published in the "Aurora" shortly previous, seems pertinent. If, as contended by Clark and a host of Burr's friends and attorneys, Wilkinson was suspected or known as a venal mercenary of the Spanish crown since 1794, why do they claim he was to hold so prominent a position in their own anti-Spanish movement, and why was no open attack made on him until forces under his command had crushed Burr. "No thief ere felt the halter draw, with good opinion of the law."

As to Burr's pretensions, Jefferson declared that Burr had forged a letter from Dezañon, Secretary of War, endorsing his scheme, to get western men to join his expedition.

In the Louisiana Gazette, March 8th, 1807, is published a three column deposition containing the full details of Burr's plot as explained by Burr himself to the deponent, General William Eaton, which deposition Eaton declares was forwarded in substance to the President by him in September or October, 1806, which was about two months before Wilkinson's letter to the latter was received. Mr. Eaton testified that when Burr told him Wilkinson was to be his Lieutenant, "I replied, Wilkinson will be a Lieutenant to no man in existence." Mr. Eaton testified that he believed his reference to Wilkinson was "an artful argument of deduction."

Burr was utterly unworthy of belief.

In a criticism of Davis' Memoirs of Burr, the North American Review, Vol. 49 (1839), p. 155 said:

"Washington was so distrustful of Burr that he rejected the recommendation of his friends to make him minister to Paris declaring he had no confidence in his integrity."

This dislike Burr cordially returned since, "From the day of Burr's resignation from the revolutionary army to the day of his death he never failed to speak of Washington save in terms of disparagement," (same article) (p. 168.)

Henry Clay, formerly deceived by Burr's former protestations of innocence, refused to shake hands with the latter, when he met him in the Federal court house in New York, after his return from Europe (Parton's Life of Burr).

On October 6th, 1806, two days before Wilkinson in far off Louisiana had received Burr's letter, the citizens of Wood county, Virginia, held a mass meeting and denounced Burr's intended expedition and called for troops to suppress it. Resolutions were there adopted and sent to the President and published in many newspapers.

The Monongahela Gazette published these resolutions on October 16th, 1806, and that publication was republished in the Louisiana Gazette of December 26th, 1806.

Wilkinson's letter in November was merely a confirmation of Jefferson's previous advices.

Jefferson in his message to Congress on January 22nd, 1807, said that he knew over two months before he received Wilkinson's letter, on November 25th, 1806, of Burr's preparations, and he had in the latter part of October, sent a confidential agent to the Ohio to keep him thoroughly posted. Jefferson stated that from the information there gathered and Wilkinson's letter he became convinced that Burr's object "was to seize on New Orleans, plunder the bank there, possess himself of the military and naval stores and to proceed on his expedition to Mexico." * * * * * After stating the steps taken and the orders given to counteract Burr's designs, Jefferson said to Congress, "A little before the receipt of these orders in the State of Ohio, our confidential agent, *who had been diligently employed in investigating the conspiracy*, had acquired sufficient information to open himself to the Governor of that State, and to apply for the immediate exertion of the authority and power of the State to crush the combination."

"Governor Tiffin, and the legislature, with a promptitude energy, and patriotic zeal, which entitle them to a distinguished place in the affection of their sister States, effected a seizure *of all the boats, provisions and other preparations within their reach*; and thus gave a first blow, materially disabling the enterprise at its outset."

The President stated to Congress how Kentucky and Tennessee had also aided him in putting down the Burr expedition, and when McCaleb, and other Burr historians, declare, that the 135 patriots who came down with Burr were too petty a force to warrant Wilkinson's alarming disptaches, they fail to note that but for the promptness with which Jefferson and the officials of Ohio and Kentucky acted thousands might have joined Burr's standard.

Among the many false and exparte statements gotten up to do service in assailing Wilkinson was that he sent Colonel W. Burling down to the Vice-Roy of Mexico with a letter stating all the details of the Burr expedition and demanding over \$100,000 for his services in preventing the invasion of Mexico.

Daniel Clark had less than a year before returned from a visit to the Vice-Roy of Mexico and the Spanish officers generally disliked Wilkinson so much that they would have been willing, at the

former Spaniard, Clark's instigation, to make any statement to the former's discredit.

Such a statement was no doubt instigated by Clark who could not use it because Burling still lived to refute it. Therefore, it was not brought up either in the Court of Inquiry in 1808 or in the Court Martial in 1811. It is however, cited in both Davis' *Memoirs of Burr* and in McCaleb's work and in Clark's "Proofs."

Any visit of Burling to Vera Cruz late in 1806 must have been made at Jefferson's suggestion since later on January 3rd, 1807, the President wrote Wilkinson that he was anxious as to the safety of Vera Cruz which a French or English fleet could capture.

"You may expect further information as we receive it."

I prefer on this matter to take the sworn evidence of Colonel W. Burling, dated November 9th, 1807, and offered before the Court of Inquiry in 1808, within less than a year after the latter's return from Vera Cruz, rather than a suspicious improbable and unsworn statement from one of the most corrupt Spanish rulers that ever disgraced Mexico, concerning an alleged letter from Wilkinson, and two other unsworn statements, deposited many years later, with one of Burr's former attorneys.

Colonel Burling after testifying to the prominent part he had taken in the agreement between the American and Spanish forces in the fall of 1806, concludes, "The following morning (November 3rd, 1806), the Inspector Viana came to our camp, when the agreement was made which removed our difficulties for that time; and shortly after the General, leaving the troops under the command of Colonel Cushing, set off for Natchitoches whither I accompanied him. After a short stay at this place *we proceeded to Natchez, where I took leave of him as a public man, nor have I since that period had any communication with him of a public nature.*"

"I take this occasion to declare in the most solemn manner, that *in all General Wilkinson's transactions, until I left him to follow my private pursuits, he appeared to have no other object in view than the faithful performance of his duty.* * * * * * Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, App. XCVII.

To show to what lengths in vituperation, the chroniclers of that time, have gone, Davis, in his *memoirs of Burr*, Vol. 2, p. 400, says:

"Accordingly *after the trial of Burr at Richmond* General Wilkinson despatched Capt. Walter Burling his aid to demand of the Vice-Roy of Mexico the repayment of his expenditures and compensations for his services to Spain in defeating Burr's expedition against Mexico. The modesty of this demand being about *two hundred thousand dollars* is worthy of notice."

Following this statement is what purports to be a copy of an act of deposit by Richmond Raynal Keene, an ex-Spanish officer, then attorney in New Orleans, before William Y. Lewis, former attorney of Burr, and then Notary, dated December 24th, 1836.

The documents so deposited were two unsworn statements, one dated 1816, purporting to be from the former wife of Vice-Roy Iturrigary, and the other, in 1821, from an Irish-Spanish priest at Salamanca, and both containing an account of how Wilkinson demanded through Walter Burling, his aid, over \$200,000 from Iturrigary for his expenses and as a reward for frustrating the Burr invasion of Mexico.

I have searched the Notarial archives of New Orleans for these documents, but find the records of Notary Lewis, up to 1840 were burnt *during his life*, and that these documents were never deposited there.

The animus of the author of this deposit is easily explained. This Richard Raynal Keene, was much embittered against both Wilkinson and Claiborne; against the former for charging in 1807 that he was a confederate of Burr and against the latter for making affidavit that he had gone to Jamaica to obtain a British Naval force to aid Burr. Though the charge by Wilkinson was withdrawn in the Louisiana Gazette of September 1st, 1807, Keene never forgave him. These Keene statements are not only unsworn to, but no evidence of their authenticity is attached to them and for aught to the contrary, they were manufactured in New Orleans.

It is more than improbable that the particulars of a letter received and destroyed on its receipt by Iturrigary, as he states, in 1807, should have been remembered for so many years by third parties whom it did not concern and who were passing through such fearful trials and reverses as the former vice-roy and his house-hold suffered after 1808.

Not only this, but the uncontradicted facts show, as stated by McCaleb in his work on Burr, (pp. 165 to 169), that Burling left Natchez on this mission for Mexico on November 17th, 1806, that he went westward overland to Vera Cruz reaching there January 20th, 1807, and returned by sea in February. From the time Burling left Wilkinson on November 14th, 1806, until the latter reached Vera Cruz, and saw Iturrigary, January 20th, 1807, Wilkinson had no opportunity to communicate with Burling. Now the Burr trials did not begin until June, 1807.

The Burr expedition did not come down the river and Burr was not arrested until January 15th, 1807. The projected invasion of

Mexico by Burr was neither frustrated or defeated for nearly two months after the mission of Burling to Mexico began, therefore, on its face, any such demand by Wilkinson for defeating, what had then never existed, would have been ridiculous and preposterous.

I am inclined to believe that as Wilkinson was making all the preparation and getting all the assistance possible; as the United States forces, their forts, their cannon and ammunition were weak and in a wretched condition, he may have warned Iturrigary of the projected invasion and asked Mexico's financial aid, just as the United States once tendered her financial aid to help Carranza wipe out Villa. But from a careful examination, I am inclined to believe that there was a thorough understanding between Iturrigary and Burr's friends and that the news brought by Burling was a disappointment to the most disreputable and treacherous ruler that Mexico has ever known, and consequently he did all he could to discredit Wilkinson.

Davis in his memoirs of Burr 2nd Volume, p. 382, says, "On the suggestion of Wilkinson, Mexico was *twice* visited by Daniel Clark." (The letters from Clark and Wilkinson, both before and after Clark's trip, show Wilkinson did not know what the object of Clark's visit was, and they had not seen each other at all during the year 1806).

Parton, says, Vol. 2, p. 45: "My own impression, after reading all the procurable documents, is, that neither Clark or Wilkinson were really embarked in Burr's Mexican scheme: though both up to a certain point may have favored it."

Davis continues, "He (Clark) held conferences and effected, arrangements with many of the principal militia officers who engaged to favor the revolution. The Catholic Bishop, resident at New Orleans, was also consulted, and prepared to promote the enterprise. He designated three priests as suitable agents, and they were accordingly employed. The Bishop was an intelligent and social man. He had been in Mexico and spoke with great freedom of the dissatisfaction of the Clergy in South America. Madame Xavier Tyurcon, Superior of the convent of Ursuline Nuns, was in the secret. Some of the sisterhood were also employed in Mexico. So far as any decision had been formed, the landing was to have been effected at Tampico."

Clark in his "Proofs of the Corruption of General Wilkinson," page 94, says:

"On the 11th of September 1805 I purchased a ship called the *Caroline* and prepared her for the voyage. I embarked in her with a cargo amounting

to \$105 000 and sailed for La Vera Cruz. I remained there *about two months* and then returned to New Orleans leaving behind me about \$56 000. In February I made a second voyage to La Vera Cruz with the double view of bringing back the funds before left there and of disposing of the cargo of the ship *Patty* which was to follow me in a few days with a cargo amounting to \$55 000. I effected both these objects leaving at Vera Cruz about \$40 000 which I did not receive till the next year."

The story of Clark's second Mexican trip in February, 1806, is true. In his letter of September 7th, 1805, to Wilkinson (Memoirs Appendix 23), Clark says, "I am on the point of setting off to Vera Cruz." * * * * * My return will be in *three or four months.*" In this letter Clark desired Wilkinson to look after certain of his land titles in his absence. He left on his second trip February 9th, 1806. As soon as he returned, in a letter dated New Orleans April 14th, 1806, (Memoirs Appendix 73), Clark wrote Wilkinson, "I wrote you in the month of August of last year, enclosing plots and titles of sundry tracts of land. * * * * * Be pleased to dissipate my fears by giving me some information on the subject. * * * * * I have been *since* I last wrote to you, *in the land of promise*, but what is more I have gotten *safe from it*, after having been represented to the Vice-Roy, as a person dangerous to the Spanish government."

This shows that Clark when he left New Orleans for Vera Cruz in September, 1805, intended to stay about four months. He did stay on both trips five months.

In the deposition of Daniel W. Coxe, partner of Daniel Clark, against Wilkinson, dated June 13th, 1808, the former swore that late in 1806, the Marquis de Casa Yrujo, (the Spanish minister) "jestingly observed to me, that he understood Mr. Clark was going to Vera Cruz and was intimate with Burr when at New Orleans, I *immediately* wrote Mr. Clark (which was about the end of the year 1805), and advised him to have nothing to do with Burr.

The following is an extract of Clark's letter to me:

'New Orleans February 6th 1806.

My dear Friend

I received this day your favor of the 20th of December by post and I thank you for the information contained in the private enclosure. *Be pleased to assure the respectable person* who informed you I was *closely* connected with Colonel Burr that he has been much imposed on in this particular. That I never was acquainted with him until he came last summer to New Orleans and that I neither was *or could be mad enough to attach myself to a man of desperate fortunes* whose stay among us did not exceed a fortnight. * * * * * What in God's name have I to expect or could I hope from Col. Burr. And is it probable I should commit my fortune and *perhaps reputation* at my period of life to *commit follies for him?* * * * * *

This short extract of Clark's longer letter shows it was written for the Spanish Minister's consumption. Such a declaration was

certainly necessary for one then under suspicion setting sail again for Vera Cruz three days later, in the William Wright."

Reading between the lines of this letter, written months before knowledge of Burr's plans came to public light from any one, it showed Clark then knew how "mad and desperate" Burr's plans really were, and that they were enough to cause any one to risk his "fortune and reputation." On May 19th, 1806, some three months later, Clark was elected to Congress from Orleans Territoy. The man who was such a patriot, that he had in 1802, tried to ruin Wilkinson's reputation with forged documents with the President, while the country he lived in was under Spanish rule, when a prominent federal officer, never once gave the government warning about Burr, and every political friend and associates he had, when the arrest of Burr and his friends occurred, rallied to the support of that "bad" "desperate" adventurer, for whom it would have been so foolish "to risk one's fortune or reputation."

Now these appear to have been the *first* and *last* ventures of Clark at Vera Cruz.

In his "Proofs," Clark says:

"By the letter of the Spanish commercial laws all trade was prohibited to her colonies except it be carried on by natives or naturalized residents. This rule was first relaxed under the administration of the Baron de Carondelet."

Iturrigary was later condemned by the Residencia to restore nearly a half million dollars, part of which, was for goods illegally shipped into Vera Cruz. Therefore, Clark, if he shipped goods to Mexico, of which he adduces no proof whatever, had to stand in with the Vice-Roy. He went there on his two visits shortly after Burr left Orleans and stayed there five months. He also admits he saw the Vice-Roy.

Historians have all failed to notice the curious coincidences between the careers of Burr and Iturrigary of Mexico. The former was a Vice-President, the latter a Vice-Roy. The former was arrested in 1807, and the latter in 1808, for high treason and other crimes. Both urged technical defenses. Both gave bond to appear, Burr for five thousand dollars, the latter a \$40,000 cash deposit bond. Both fled, Iturrigary to Africa. Both returned to die in their native land, Iturrigary, after pardon.

Bancroft in his History of Mexico says, p. 22:

"Iturrigary's appointment as the 56th vice-roy of Mexico was due to Godoy." "Iturrigary's first act on taking possession was to defraud the crown by illegally importing a cargo of merchandise into

Vera Cruz which netted him 119,125 Pesos. This fraud was the first of many serious charges proven against him in his Residencia, of which an account will be given later."

"Moreover he at once began a system of a sale of employments on his own account and established for his benefit an impost on quicksilver, by which he unjustly secured to himself large benefits. Other frauds were perpetrated in contracts for paper used in the government cigar factories, the contractors charging fictitious prices and paying a bonus to *Dona Ines (wife of the vice-roy)*" (pp. 23 and 24). On pages 25, 26, 27, the historians states that by other corrupt methods the vice-roy gained enormous wealth.

"The Spanish government involved, under Godoy's rule, in political difficulties corruption and extravagance and harassed by the exorbitant demands of Napoleon * * * * decreed by royal order of December 26th, 1804, to sequester all the real estate belonging to benevolent institutions. * * * * In order to stimulate the zeal of the functionaries and to make these sequestrations more productive they were allowed a percentage of the sale. Such an incentive with men like Iturrigary, left little hope for the people; and great was the clamor among all classes, especially the clergy. * * * * Subsequently all corporate property was taken, deposits of all kinds even money designed to ransom prisoners; never had royal license to fleece the colonists been more barefaced never had the robbery of a people by its rulers been more merciless and infamous. * * * *"

"The merciless rigor with which the vice-roy executed every oppressive decree and the fact that he and a host of officials profited by the ruin of others, gained him the odium of the sufferers." (p. 31).

"More and more urgent (in 1805) *were the appeals to the Vice-Roy for Mexican silver and gold*. Iturrigary seems in every respect equal to the emergency. The colonists are made to bleed."

"From corporations, from the clergy and from private individuals, thirteen millions of dollars are secured at this juncture, and shipped in four frigates, some five millions more being retained for later transportation. To make up this amount he (Iturrigary) *has not only seized any deposits, however sacred. he could lay his hands on, and forced money from the poor*, but he has resorted to a swindling system of lotteries," (p. 32).

"In 1801, Philip Nolan (Wilkinson's friend) makes an incursion into Mexican territory as far as Neuvo Santander and under the pretext of purchasing horses erects some forts. He is however, attacked and slain." (p. 33).

"When the news was received of the victory of Lord Nelson at Trafalgar over the French and Spaniards in 1805, Iturrigary believed Vera Cruz would be attacked." (Bancroft 35).

In 1808, Iturrigary was suspected of treasonable designs. "But Iturrigary is a coward and hypocrite—a man not the best either for a traitor or patriot. He has no thought of self sacrifice; on the contrary *should he make Mexico free, he must be well paid for it.* * * * * * " (p. 41).

On the 19th of July, 1808, an address was presented to Iturrigary asking him to *become the ruler of Mexico. To this he assented.*

On September 14th, 1808, Iturrigary was arrested and deposed and on the 6th of December, 1808, was taken on the ship San Justo to Cadiz. "There impeached for treason and accused of extortion and mal-administration, he awaited trial." His trial began in August, 1809, but was later suspended, and he was required to give a deposit of 40,000 pesos for bond. In October, 1810, the new regency ordered that he be re-arrested and his trial be proceeded with. He then fled to Africa. On the 26th of November, 1811, he was allowed the benefit of the general pardon. In the residencia in Mexico the late vice-roy was condemned to pay \$435,413. On appeal this decree was affirmed by the council of the Indies in February, 1819, and later by the supreme tribunal of justice.

In 1821 Dona Ines, Iturrigary's *widow* went to Mexico *after its declaration of independence*, and claimed "the vice-roy had been the *first promoter of independence and had fallen a victim to the cause,*" and she succeeded so well in proving this, that she recovered \$400,000 of the money, the former vice-roy had been condemned to pay. (Bancroft p. 62).

It would therefore seem, that if Iturrigary was one of the *first* promoters of independence in Mexico, prior to 1808, he must have been a party to the Burr conspiracy of which that independence was one of the main objects. General Eaton testified that Burr in his declaration to him said he had influential agents in Mexico.

But the record shows that both Iturrigary and his wife were first class frauds; that they were the devoted slaves of royalty, while in Spain, yet leading patriots of independence in Mexico, when money was to be gotten by it.

What sweet scented specimens they were, to convict an American on their unsworn statements.

On his visits to the West in 1805 and 1806, Burr spent thrice as much time with Andrew Jackson as he did with any other man. Jackson could abide no equal or superior and either envied or hated

Wilkinson. Jackson necessarily knew more than Wilkinson did of Burr's plans.

On November 12th, 1806, Jackson wrote to Governor Claiborne, * * * * *

"Put your town in a state of defense organize your militia and defend your city as well against internal as external enemies. My knowledge does not extend so far as to go into detail but I fear you will meet with an attack from quarters you do not expect. Be upon the alert; *keep a watchful eye on your general and beware of an attack on your own country as from Spain.* I fear there is something rotten in the state of Denmark. You have enemies within your own city that may try to subvert your government and try to separate it from the Union. *You know I never hazard ideas without good grounds: You will keep these hints to yourself.* But I say again be on the alert; *your government I fear is in danger. I fear there are plans on foot inimical to the Union,* whether they will be attempted to be carried into effect or not I cannot say but rest assured they are in operation or I calculate boldly. *Beware of the month of December.* I love my country and government; I hate the Dons; *I would delight to see Mexico reduced;* but I will die in the last ditch before I would yield a foot to the Dons *or see the Union disunited; this I write for your own eye and for your own safety.* Profit by it and the Ides of March remember. With sincere respect I am as usual, your sincere friend Andrew Jackson.

A very cursory reading of this letter shows that Jackson knew Burr's intentions as to Mexico, and feared he would also attack New Orleans and dismember the Union. He knew even the month that Burr intended to descend, and did descend, the Mississippi with his expedition, yet he disclosed nothing beyond an insinuation to beware of Wilkinson's treachery, the man he hated. He declares and repeats the "government is in danger"—"the union is in danger," yet says nothing about it to the President, the head of the nation, and bids Governor Claiborne "Keep these *hints* to yourself."

Contrast his conduct with that of the man he suspected, who informed the President, informed Governor Claiborne, and took the most active step to arrest the conspirators as soon as he knew of the conspiracy. The foes of Wilkinson declare he acted the despot at New Orleans. Judge Workman was in league with Burr's friends, and was releasing them as fast as he could, yet Wilkinson's conduct on that occasion was not one-tenth part as arbitrary, as Jackson's was, later in New Orleans, if Judge Martin is to be believed.

In fact after peace was declared, and after Judge Hall, imprisoned by Jackson, had been released on the President's proclamation, and after Jackson had been fined by Judge Hall, which fine was taken out of the United States coffers and returned by Congress, thus endorsing Jackson's course, Jackson again denounced Judge Hall. Martin (p. 410) says, Hall replied, "Judge Hall knows full well how easy it is for one with the influence and patronage of General Jackson to procure certificates and affidavits. *He knows that men*

usurping authority have their delators and spies, and that in the sunshine of dictatorial power swarms of miserable creatures are rapidly changed into the shape of buzzing reformers; Judge Hall declares he has at no time made the statements he is charged with making by General Jackson and challenges him to his proof." This proof Jackson never attempted.

McCaleb says, (p. 86):

"Though Burr failed, history emphatically shows his plans were opportune, and that their wreck was due to influences he had properly failed to estimate and *chiefly to the conduct of Wilkinson*.

McCaleb in his work on Burr, declares that Blannerhasset stated he had sued Andrew Jackson for a due bill or note the latter had given Burr for over one thousand dollars borrowed money. Patton says Jackson followed Burr to Richmond and there, "harangued a crowd from the steps of a corner grocery for Burr and damning Jefferson as his prosecutor." Parton on Burr 2 Vol., p. 105).

He further states that it was Burr in 1815 who first suggested Jackson for the Presidency. (2nd Vol. 256).

When Jackson became president in 1829, he gave Samuel Swarthout, Burr's man Friday, the New York collectorship, one of the best offices in his gift. (Parton 2 Vol. 280).

Burr, however, presuming on Jackson's strong friendship, tried to get the administration of the latter to allow him one hundred thousand dollars for his expenses and services in the revolutionary war, and in order to get this through, agreed to give a young lawyer, then courting the daughter of Jackson's secretary, and holding office in that department ten thousand dollars to have this claim allowed, Jackson declared it a piece of rascality and this claim was rejected. Parton 2nd, pp. 281-2.

To show how nasty and vituperative the partisans of Burr's supporters were I quote an excerpt of Judge Workman's public criticism of Claiborne's address to the legislature, published in the Louisiana Gazette of April 10th, 1807. Thus,

"There is not extant such a monument of impudence, vanity and falsehood as the speech from which those extracts are taken."

* * * * *

"The poor dog may continue to wear and display the feathers which I charitably gave him to clothe his unfledged miserable tail, but he shall not steal any of the plumes which I have appropriated for my own use and ornament."

Such nice, dignified language from a judge to the Governor was typical of the time.

The letters produced by me from Governor Claiborne show, that before the Burr trial came on, and even before his indictment, the friends of Burr and enemies of Wilkinson were doing all they could to aid the former and injure the latter.

Burr was represented at Richmond by five able lawyers, Edmund Randolph, John Wickham, Benjamin Botts, John Baker and Luther Martin, the last named being the celebrated lawyer who had just successfully defended Judge Chase. Burr had lawyers all over the country. He was represented in New Orleans by the leading firm of Livingston and Alexander and at Natchez by Hardin, of that bar. Daniel W. Coxe testified before the court of inquiry in 1808 that William Lewis was Burr's attorney in Philadelphia. Burr also had powerful friends who were most active in his behalf. Evidently money for him was not lacking. In the four Claiborne letters, that I now produce, it will be seen that General Adair came all the way from Kentucky, before Burr was indicted, and spent weeks in New Orleans hunting up evidence against Wilkinson, and as he left there to go to Richmond, we can take for granted that such evidence was to be used to impeach Wilkinson and help Burr.

As Wilkinson was the most important witness against Burr, the lawyers of the latter directed their fire against him, even before Burr was indicted. Wilkinson had hardly landed from the vessel that brought him when Burr's counsel prayed for an attachment him for contempt on the ground that he had kidnapped Lindsay and against Knox, two of the witnesses of the government against Burr, and had brought them to Richmond on his ship. They further charged that Wilkinson had tried to bribe Knox to testify against Burr. There are numerous cases where men have been accused with trying to keep witnesses away from Court, but this is the first case ever heard of where an attack was made on a man for bringing state witnesses to Court.

This trial for an attachment for contempt of court took four days and is reported in full in Robertson's Trial of Burr (1st Volume, pp. 258 to 390). The result was Wilkinson's complete vindication and acquittal. The friends of Burr have attacked Jefferson as the prosecutor of Burr, the friends of Jefferson and Jefferson himself have attacked Judge Marshall as leaning to Burr, but both Jefferson and Marshall held that Wilkinson had done his full duty in the Burr affair by his country.

The statements of a witness that traveled from Kentucky to New Orleans to hunt up testimony against Wilkinson, and thence to Richmond, about twenty five hundred miles, and was, as Claiborne

says, abusing Wilkinson while hunting for such testimony, does not show that General Adair was an impartial chronicler.

One thing is certain that the attorneys for the defense of Burr were engaged in ransacking the country to procure evidence of some kind against Wilkinson and seem to have found nothing to his discredit. The defense of Burr was a technical one and his case went off on the plea that he had not actually waged war against the United States. The friends of Burr seem to have missed the point, that, but for the arrest of Burr by the forces under Wilkinson, this defense might not have availed Burr, and the stopping of his expedition in time by Wilkinson, may have saved Burr, and at the same time other persons, their lives.

But not only were the attorneys of Burr ready to seize on every pretext to attack Wilkinson, but his bitter enemy, John Randolph was the foreman of the Grand Jury that indicted Burr and a number of his supporters, and was also anxious to indict Wilkinson. The indictments against Burr and his friends were returned into Court on June 24th, 1807, while the rule against Wilkinson was being tried. On the same day I cite what then occurred from "Robertson's trial of Burr," (Volume 1, pages 356 to 359.)

"While Mr. Hay was speaking the Grand Jury entered and their foreman Mr. Randolph addressed the court to the following effect: "May it please the Court the Grand Jury have been informed that there is in the possession of Aaron Burr a certain letter with the post mark May the 13th, from James Wilkinson in ciphers which they may deem to be material to *certain inquiries now pending before them.* The Grand Jury are perfectly aware that they have no right to demand any evidence from the prisoner under prosecution which may tend to criminate himself. But the Grand Jury have thought proper to appear in Court to ask its assistance if it thinks proper to grant it to obtain the letter with his consent."

"Mr. Burr declared that it would be impossible for him under certain circumstances to expose any letter which had been communicated to him confidentially; how far the extremity of circumstances might impel him to such a conduct he was not prepared to decide; but it was impossible for him even to deliberate on the proposition to deliver up something which had been confided to his honor; unless it was extorted from him by law."

Thus the court was given to understand that Burr then had this letter, and that his refusal to produce it was dictated by the most punctilious sense of honor that would not permit him to not do anything that would injure the writer of the letter.

At the same time Burr's refusal was an undercut at Wilkinson, who, believing that no such privilege applied as a protection for illegal acts, had produced before the Grand Jury Burr's letters to him. Fortunately for Wilkinson he learned of Burr's declaration, and District Attorney McRae at his request made the following statement in open court, "The Grand Jury has asked for a certain letter in ciphers

which was supposed to have been addressed by General Wilkinson to the accused. The court had understood the ground on which the accused had refused to put it in their possession to be an apprehension lest his honor should be wounded by thus betraying matters of confidence. I have seen General Wilkinson since this declaration was made, and the General had expressed his wishes to me, and requested me to express these wishes, *that the whole of the correspondence between Aaron Burr and himself be exhibited to this court.* The accused has now therefore, a fair opportunity of producing this letter; he is absolved from all possible imputation; his honor is perfectly safe."

(Mr. Burr): "The court will probably expect from me some reply. The communication which I made to the court, has led, it seems to the present invitation, I have only to say sir, this letter will not be produced. The letter is not at this time in my possession and General Wilkinson knows it."

Burr stated afterwards to the court that he had given this letter to a third party. Who that party was, or whether it was one of his counsel, he did not say, but though challenged by Wilkinson to produce this letter he dared not do so.

But more than this, after Burr's acquittal for treason and all serious danger to him was over; when he was put on trial for misdemeanor only, Wilkinson gave his evidence which is quoted verbatim in the issues of the Louisiana Gazette from November 13th, to December 11th, 1807, In this testimony Burr's counsel cross examined Wilkinson as to this letter dated May 13th, and postmarked May 18th, the contents of which Wilkinson stated he could not remember. Counsel for the government thereupon declared that as this letter was in the possession of Burr or his counsel, and the same was the best evidence it should be produced or at least, the same should be shown to refresh the memory of the witness. This was not done. Finally on Saturday, October 9th, 1807 (as published in Gazette of December 11th):

"General Wilkinson having been informed there were no more questions to be propounded to him, addressed the Judge as follows: "Upon a former occasion you will recollect sir, that reference was made to a certain letter, of which so much has been said. That letter is designated by the words said to be used in it, "Yours postmarked the 18th of May has been received." Yet that letter has been withheld under the pretext of delicacy; while we have seen it employed in the most artful and insidious manner to injure my reputation and tarnish my fame. Sir, I demand the production of that letter. I hope the reputation acquired by nearly 30 years of service is not to

be filched from me by the *subtlety, artifice or fraud* of Colonel Burr and his counsel * * * * * The letter postmarked the 18th of May, has often been mentioned and has been used to injure my character and envelop it in doubt and suspicion. This letter if written at all, must have been written in answer to one received from Colonel Burr. Why has it not been produced? *I challenge its production.* * * * * * I have no hesitation in saying that the declarations of that gentleman (pointing to Col. Burr) that he had put the letter beyond his power, and with my knowledge, is totally destitute of the truth."

All this Burr's historians have suppressed.

The rule is well settled, that where one man seeks to *introduce* evidence and another suppresses it, the strongest presumptions are in favor of the former and against the latter.

The change made in a copy of the cipher letter of Burr of October 8th, was made by Mr. A. L. Duncan, an attorney on whom Wilkinson had called for advice before he left New Orleans, and this was testified to by Duncan at Wilkinson's trial four years later. (Wilkinson's memoirs, Volume 2nd, pp. 332 to 335). The change, did not affect Burr to the slightest extent, but was of course seized on by Burr's attorneys to denounce Wilkinson.

I submit where every motive of hostility and interest was taken advantage of to the utmost in the Burr case against Wilkinson and where all the witnesses were then living to testify against him he came forth unscathed. Now when he and they are no longer here to speak for themselves suspicion ought not to be indulged in to wrong Wilkinson's memory.

Wilkinson, while having warm friends, made powerful and bitter enemies. The two men who hated him most were John Randolph and Daniel Clark. Randolph having in 1807, attacked Wilkinson on the floor of the House of Representatives, the latter challenged him, and on Randolph's refusal to fight, posted him as a coward and poltroon and called attention to the fact that he had been previously caned by an officer of the army.

In the Louisiana Gazette of April 3rd, 1807, is printed the following editorial from the Baltimore American, "The reader will find in our columns yesterday the far famed speech of Mr. J. Randolph. It is tinctured with all the bitterness which that gentleman never fails to mingle with his observations when he speaks of those whom he dislikes. It would really seem uncandid and ungenerous, for Mr. Randolph to treat with such inmerited severity, were it not

known that he entertains towards the commander-in-chief *a deadly rancorous personal hostility.*" * * * * *

This editorial shows Mr. Randolph's great inconsistency in first calling on the President to take the most "Prompt and efficacious measures for securing the union threatened with external war and conspiracy and treasons," and then in assaulting Wilkinson by declaring the Burr conspiracy was merely "an intrigue."

Randolph was then writhing from the result of the Chase impeachment. John Randolph no doubt derived his bitter and revengeful nature from his Indian ancestry.

His command of invective was only equalled by his ignorance of law and unfairness in debate. His most famous prosecution and failure was that of the impeachment of the federalist United States Judge Chase. After Chase's acquittal, Adams, Vol. 1, p. 240, says:

"The Northern democrats talked of Randolph with disgust and Senator Cocke of Tennessee who voted guilty as to Chase, told his federalist colleagues in the senate that Randolph's vanity, ambition, insolence and dishonesty, not only in the impeachment but in other matters, were such as to make the acquittal of Chase no subject of regret."

Wilkinson's other greatest enemy, Daniel Clark was born in Sligo, Ireland, in 1766, and was educated in England. He came to New Orleans on the invitation of his uncle about 1784, and succeeded to the latter's estate in 1799. He was 21 years old when Wilkinson first came to New Orleans. Untrue to the country of his birth, like his compatriot, Thomas Power, he became and remained a Spanish subject when Great Britain was at war with Spain.

It is a coincidence that O'Reilly, who invited the Creole leaders in New Orleans to a banquet and then treacherously murdered them, and Clark, who spent so much time and effort to assassinate Wilkinson's good name, were both Irish-Spaniards.

The firm of Clark and Dunn, in which the elder Clark was a partner, became in 1788, Wilkinson's agent in New Orleans, but owing to overcharges by young Clark, acting for that firm Wilkinson in 1790, transferred his business to Philip Nolan, who then became Wilkinson's agent.

The misunderstanding on Wilkinson's part was soon forgotten and Clark subsequently wrote Wilkinson the most fulsome letters, but the member from Sligo was simply biding his time to get even.

Clark's own letters to Wilkinson, (Memoirs, 2nd Vol., Appendix 14, 16, 17, 18, 33) show that deceit and treachery were habitual to him. He never did anything openly that involved any risk or blame to himself that he could get another to do for him.

Even after the time that Clark was stabbing Wilkinson in the back by secret charges to Jefferson in 1802, he was writing April 13th, 1803, to Wilkinson, * * * * * "I already look on my fortune as lost, I am careless of personal danger. Point out therefore a useful line of conduct for me to pursue, and rely on its execution. In hopes of hearing from you shortly I subscribe myself with esteem, dear sir, Your very humble servant, Daniel Clark."

Among other fawning letters as late as June 15th, 1806, just after his election as a delegate to Congress, Clark wrote Wilkinson, * * * * * "I would likewise thank you for your advice respecting the part I ought to act in Washington; what people I should most see; *what use can be made of them; how they are to be acted on, etc.*, and I count on your sending me a few letters which will serve to introduce me to your friends, so as to procure me on arrival some acquaintances who will take the trouble of giving me information. * * * * * Do not forget to mention to me the state of the *land office* in your country; and the state of *the titles to lands*, with the amendments you think necessary, and the *land law*." * * * * *

"If you have among your books and papers, any *history, maps or plans of your country, or this territory*, let me beg of you to send them, and I promise you to take special care to have them returned safely. * * * * * Let me hear from you, I beg without delay, and let me know in what can I be of service to you, Yours sincerely, Daniel Clark," (Wilkinson's Memoirs, 2nd Vol., App. 75).

Again on September 27th, 1806, Clark wrote Wilkinson, after calling attention to the poor military condition of New Orleans.

"I know I am entering a thorny path, and shall expect a great deal of trouble. I would thank you for your advice to direct me; and if you would give me a line to some of your friends in Congress disposed to favor or serve Louisiana, you would, afterwards, perhaps, find your account in it." (Clark's Proofs, etc., p. 156).

Clark again wrote Wilkinson, October 2nd, 1806. (Clark's Proofs, p. 157):

"Captain Turner told me you expected to see me at Natchitoches, I have no time to make the journey and return in time to go to the seat of government, and however strong the desire is of seeing you on my part I must defer that pleasure till my return next spring."

• Yet of this writer, Daniel W. Coxe, his partner, testified at the trial of Wilkinson in 1811, "I never considered Mr. Clark and General Wilkinson as friends, beyond mere appearances, Mr. Clark always

thought illy of the General on account of his Spanish connections, and never to me (even in confidence) uttered an opinion in his favor."

To show the recklessness and venom that animated Clark against Wilkinson because the latter was indirectly the cause of preventing his bigamous marriage, in the collection of the mass of forgeries and ex parte affidavits Clark procured and published as his proofs, at his own expense and all to gratify his hatred and malice, we find a suppression of the truth in the first few pages. An affidavit is published there of Col. John Ballinger, a man of high standing, stating that he had brought two mule loads of silver from New Orleans and delivered same to Wilkinson on December 26th, 1789, at Frankfurt. This was at a date that there was no question as to the integrity of Wilkinson's dealings at New Orleans. But by publishing that bald truth without stating the source of the money Clark knew Wilkinson would be prejudiced with the masses. On Wilkinson's trial in 1811, Col. Ballinger, was cross examined on this affidavit, and testified, I carried the money into Frankfurt as openly as I came into this town; delivered it to Wilkinson in the presence of many persons, whom I found there, some of whom I knew, some of whom I did not know; that from their conversations I found they knew I was coming, and were waiting my arrival; that they were tobacco planters of Lincoln county, in Kentucky, and were there to receive their money for tobacco which Wilkinson had purchased of them; for the cargo of which the money conveyed by the witness *was only a part of the proceeds*; and that some disappointment was expressed by them, because the whole amount of the shipment had not been forwarded from New Orleans as had been expected."

To show what a degenerate Clark really was, early in 1801 a confectioner in New Orleans, named Jerome Des Granges, sailed for France with letters of introduction from Clark, leaving his very young and beautiful wife, born Zulime Carriere, to be aided by Clark's advice.

Evidently Clark became too intimate with the confectioner's wife as he later sent her to Philadelphia, where in April, 1802, a child was born to the guilty pair. The child was left in Philadelphia, and the wife was brought back to meet her husband on his return to New Orleans, in September, 1802, when strange to say the latter was arrested for bigamy. This was an improvement on King David's method of getting rid of a husband.

In *Gaines vs. Relf* (12 Howard, p. 282), the Supreme Court of the United States said of this incident:

"The reports to which these witnesses swear, obviously originated with, and were relied on by Madame Desgrange, her sisters and friends, to harass and drive Desgrange from the country, so that his wife might indulge herself in the society of Clark, unincumbered and unannoyed by the presence of an humble and deserted husband, and this was in fact, accomplished, for Desgrange did leave the country soon after he was tried for bigamy, and Clark did set up Desgrange's wife in an handsome establishment, where their intercourse was unrestrained."

"In 1805, when Desgrange again came to New Orleans, his wife immediately sued him for alimony as above stated; speedily got judgment against him for \$500 per annum; on the same day issued execution, and again drove him away.

No proof for bigamy was presented against Des Granges and he was discharged. Des Granges, however, left New Orleans, and did not return until 1805, and during his absence, in 1803, Clark secretly married the grass widow in Philadelphia, and about 1805, in the city of New Orleans, a child was born of this marriage; the celebrated Myra Clark Gaines. The child, while an infant was turned over to Mr. and Mrs. S. B. Davis, who raised her. She did not learn of her parentage until many years after the death of her father. On his visit in 1802 to Philadelphia to see his concubine, Clark found time to go to Washington and lodge charges against Wilkinson. In the case of Myra Clark Gaines vs. the City of New Orleans, Supreme Court of United States, 6 Wallace's reports, p. 677, is quoted a letter from Clark to Chew and Relf, dated *February 18th, 1802*, which stated: "I return three or four days from Washington, where I had an opportunity of seeing the President and officers of the government, by whom I was well received * * * * * It has been *hinted* to me that *a great deal* is expected from my services."

In his message to Congress, dated January 20th, 1808, "Messages and Papers of President, Vol. 1, p. 437," President Jefferson says that in 1803, "He, Clark, was listened to freely, and he then delivered the letter of Governor Gayoso addressed to *himself*, and of which a copy is now communicated. After his return to New Orleans he forwarded to the Secretary of State other papers with the request that after their perusal *they be burnt*," (a la Mulligan Letters).

The administration of Jefferson paid no attention to this attempt to defame Wilkinson.

Clark prior to the cession of Louisiana had been United States vice-consul at New Orleans. He expected an important position from the President, and failing to receive it grew bitter against the

new regime. Possibly the fact that he had succeeded through himself, and in part by parties fraudulently interposed, in obtaining titles to over 100,000 acres of valuable land from the Spanish regime, in Louisiana, worth subsequently over ten million dollars, may have accounted for his anxiety to be a ruling power in Louisiana. Note his anxiety on land matters in his last quoted letter to Wilkinson.

Governor Claiborne wrote on June 19th, 1805, to President Jefferson:

"It may perhaps be to you a matter of curiosity to know the nature and extent of the party to which I am indebted for those unfriendly attacks. I have no hesitation to tell you they proceeded originally from the resentment of Mr. Daniel Clark, who conceiving himself entitled to the confidence of the President, and possibly to some distinguished place in the administration here, is mortified to find himself so completely overlooked." Gayarre Vol. 4, p. 103.

Claiborne said further:

"Such persons from long practice are more conversant with the arts of intrigue. To what lengths the opposition to me may be carried I know not, but I am inclined to think that nothing will be left unsaid which can wound my feelings, and that my public and private character will be cruelly misrepresented."

Randolph also extended his hatred to Claiborne, as Gayarre, (Vol. 4, p. 131), says:

"In 1806, John Randolph made a most bitter attack on Governor Claiborne in Congress which the latter much resented. This attack charged his administration with weakness and imbecility. In 1806 Claiborne again denounced Daniel Clark as being among the intriguers who opposed him. Clark from disappointment is greatly soured with the administration and unites in doing the Governor here all the injury in his power." Gayarre 4, p. 142.)

"What contributed to increase Claiborne's vexation was the election of Clark, his personal enemy, as a delegate to Congress about that time." Gayarre 114.

In the Gaines case, above cited, a reference is made to a duel between Claiborne and Clark which Gayarre says nothing of.

Upon his election to Congress from New Orleans Clark repaired to Washington in 1806. He kept his marriage concealed, and posing in Washington as a man of great fortune proceeded to pay his addresses to a Miss Caton, a lady of a very prominent family from Baltimore, at that time in Annapolis, who subsequently married the Duke of Leeds. In the Gaines case, on pages 654 and 655, are his letters to his partner Daniel W. Coxe, about this projected marriage, the same Coxe who later wrote for Clark, the "Proofs of the Corruption of Wilkinson."

Wilkinson being asked at a dinner in Annapolis, about that time, as to Clark's wealth said he was not a wealthy man, which statement was overheard by a member of the Caton family.

That Wilkinson's statement was true the U. S. Supreme Court in the Gaines case, 6th Wallace, p. 689, fifty-nine years later, verifies, saying:

"That up to the time of Clark's death he had no ready money and was greatly shortened for want of it; not being able to supply even his mother's small requirements."

In Wilkinson Memoirs (2nd Volume) he traces Clark's bitter enmity to this, his remark, as to Clark's fortune. Strange that in 1867, nearly 60 years later, Wilkinson's statements should be thus verified. In a letter quoted in the Gaines case, from Clark to Coxe, dated February 14th, 1808, the writer stated as to his courtship, "I am sorry to have to mention that it not only has not been effected, but that the affair is *forever* ended."

Coxe testified in the Gaines case that the engagement was broken off, because of a demand for marriage settlements by the lady's family, thus corroborating Wilkinson's statement in his Memoirs that the marriage was broken off because Clark could not make good his pretensions of wealth. In the meantime Clark's wife, offended by his refusal to proclaim her his wife, and offended by her husband's attempt to marry another woman, in August, 1808, married in Philadelphia a French gentleman named Gardere, Clark not objecting. (See the Gaines case, p. 656).

Clark died on August 16th, 1813. Owing to his secretiveness to the last, he made a private will and the same was stolen and destroyed and secondary proof thereof was not successfully made until 1856, over 40 years later. (See succession of Daniel Clark, 11th Louisiana Annual Reports p. 124). By the decision of the Louisiana Supreme Court, Clark's mother was disinherited.

The contest of his daughter to prove her legitimacy was not however, entirely successful until December, 1867, (see the above Gaines case in the Supreme Court of the United States) and I, myself, remember Mrs. Myra Clark Gaines, as a tottering old woman, before she began to enjoy the proceeds of the enormous quantity of valuable lands her father got from Spain.

Clark was a man untrue to the country of his birth; untrue to his friends; untrue in his sworn depositions; untrue and deceitful to the woman he betrayed, as even after he made her his wife, he kept that marriage hidden and allowed her to be considered as his mistress before the world; he was untrue to the woman whom he subse-

quently tried to commit bigamy with and to dishonor; he was untrue even to his own daughter, whose parentage he concealed for almost all of his life, whom he allowed others to care for and raise, and whom he subjected by his unnatural, deceitful and depraved disposition to suffer almost all of her long life from the unjust imputation of adulterous bastardy.

No man with a spark of honor or decency would convict any human being on the testimony of such a degenerate villain.

I desire to call particular attention to the fact that both Claiborne and Wilkinson, from the time they came to New Orleans together in 1803, to the admission of New Orleans as a State were surrounded by a coterie of powerful French and Spanish enemies; that New Orleans then extended only from Esplanade to Canal streets and from the river to Rampart street, not one hundred blocks, and that New Orleans was then but the size of a modern village.

From 1803 to 1806, when Claiborne expelled the Spanish officers, he was thrown in contact with all classes of Wilkinson's enemies and if there had been any fact detrimental to Wilkinson it would have been impossible for Claiborne not to have learned of it. I now make public for the first time the private and confidential letters from Governor Claiborne to Wilkinson in May, June and September, 1807, which show that Claiborne had the most unbounded confidence in and regard for Wilkinson and also an abhorrence and contempt for Thomas Power, the principal witness in 1811 against Wilkinson. I now cite an original letter from Governor Claiborne to Wilkinson:

(Private)
Dear Sir:

New Orleans, May 29th, 1807.

In a paper of yesterday General Adair's arrival at Nashville is announced, and it is added "that he is on his way to this city for the express purposes of visiting General Wilkinson." Adair must know of Burr's trial in Richmond and of your summons to attend. If, therefore, he be on his way hither, it seems to me to be his object to avoid rather than seek you.

A splendid dinner was given on the 27th to the Honorable D. Clark. Mr. Ed. Livingston (Burr's counsel) presided assisted by Mr. Phil Jones and the ex-Sheriff George Z. Ross. Among the guests were the Judges of the Superior Court and Mr. Alexander (another of Burr's lawyers) Counsellor at Law, the ci-devant mayor of New Orleans and *James Workman*, late Judge of the County of Orleans. The latter spoke in his paper and said that great was the contrast between this dinner and the dinner which was given to General Wilkinson; that at the Clark's function function that one hundred gentlemen sat down to dinner but at yours only thirty could be obtained. In point of numbers they may boast but I perceive that in point of respectability of character they do not claim pre-eminence."

I surely hope you had a pleasant voyage and that your arrival in Richmond was sufficiently early to meet the wishes of Government.

Your friends here are all solicitous to learn the result of Burr's trial and the *favorable impression which your conduct when it comes to be explained, must make on the American Society.*

I pray you therefore to keep us advised of particulars and to receive my best wishes for your health, happiness and prosperity."

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE."

"General James Wilkinson."

The next letter from Governor Claiborne to Wilkinson, of which I produce the original, is marked "Private and Confidential."

"New Orleans, June 16th, 1807.

"My dear Sir:

You will have heard of my duel with Mr. Clark and the issue: I have suffered much pain; but the wound has assumed a favorable aspect and I hope in ten or fifteen days to be enabled to walk. General Adair is still here and receives great attention from some of our citizens. I am told that he is lavish in his abuse of you; but that was to have been expected.

With all my heart do I wish you prosperity and happiness but alike with myself, I fear you may have some difficult scenes to encounter.

I have given up the idea of writing a book. It would not assist me with my friends and would tend only to make my enemies more bitter. I think your book also might as well for the present be postponed; we have both justified ourselves to the President and with that I think we should be content.

For several reasons I must entreat you in no event to make public the statement I gave you concerning Mr. J. B. It can be of no service to you to make it public, and among other effects it might probably involve my friend Dr. Flood, in a dispute.

It is said that Dr. Bollman will be here in a few days and that Swarthout is also expected, I fear. I much fear the danger is not over.

Mr. Clark in his affair with me, acted the part of the gentleman and the soldier.

I am, dear sir,

Your friend,

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE."

"General James Wilkinson."

The next letter from Governor Claiborne is also marked "Private."

New Orleans, June 26th, 1807.

Dear Sir:

I am this moment informed that General Adair is busily engaged in obtaining at this place such information in writing as he thinks is best calculated to injure you and that his object is to proceed on to Richmond in a few days. I know not what documents Adair may have collected but possibly it may be of some service to you to know, that he is thus employed.

My wound has been very painful, but is now much better and I hope to be enabled to walk in ten or twelve days. I sincerely wish you well.

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE."

"General Wilkinson."

The deposition of Lieutenant J. S. Smith of the U. S. Army, on March 25th, 1807, is published in the Louisiana Gazette of April 10th of that year, in which that officer declares that while Adair was a prisoner in his charge the latter said that if he had remained 48 hours in New Orleans, it would *not have been in the power of Wil-*

kinson to arrest him. * * * * * He further swore he would take the life of the General at the first opportunity."

The fourth and most important letter of Governor Claiborne deals largely with the witnesses who were subpoenaed in the Burr trial, and particularly with the character of one Thomas Powers whom Daniel Clark suborned to commit perjury against General Wilkinson, on his later trial in 1811.

It will be noted that this letter was written years before Governor Claiborne ever knew that Wilkinson would be tried, or that this man Powers would be the star witness on Daniel Clark's part against him.

Powers, Derbigny, Merciere and McDonnough, four out of the five witnesses Governor Claiborne states in this letter as summoned by Burr, are anti-Wilkinson witnesses whose evidence Clark has printed in his "Proofs" and Claiborne himself opposing Burr had just been shot by Clark in a duel.

This letter is as follows:

New Orleans, September 8th, 1807.

"Dear Sir:-

I thank you for your friendly letter of the 29th, of July. Ashley is now here, and was the bearer of many *blank* subpoenas. *Thomas Powers, Derbigny, Fromentine*, a man of the name of *Merciere* and *Mr. Donnough* have been summoned on behalf of Burr. Powers has gone; the other gentleman I learned have forwarded their depositions.

Hardin acts, (I understand) as Burr's counsel at Natchez and Livingston and Alexander in this city. Thomas Powers has said that if compelled to tell the truth, he must ruin you; but that he would claim the protection of the Spanish Minister, and if possible, avoid giving testimony. With this man Powers, I once had an interview, with a design of obtaining some particular information relative to certain propositions which he had made to certain persons in Kentucky. I did not attain my object *but I clearly ascertained that Powers was a most unprincipled man and susceptible of a bribe. At this same interview, I well recollect, that Powers told me General Wilkinson was not either directly or indirectly concerned in the Spanish business and he called his God to witness the truth of what he said.*

Our enemies here continue their exertions to injure us both and will omit *no effort* to accomplish their objects; but I trust and believe they can do us no injury.

I am, dear sir,

Your friend sincerely,

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE

"General James Wilkinson."

It will be noted that these letters evince a respect, esteem and affection on the part of Governor Claiborne towards Wilkinson, with whom he was very closely connected, both officially and personally, and both of whom were the object of the most persistent and bitter attacks of enemies who were industriously collecting every scrap of evidence that they could get to injure them.

As between Randolph and Clark, the latter was utterly without principle and much the worst, but both were equally malignant and laid their plans carefully against Wilkinson. Randolph having been put in possession of all the papers and forgeries in Clark's hands that he had gathered against Wilkinson, on December 31st, 1807, sent up these papers (afterwards pronounced forgeries) for the Clerk of the House to read, and presenting a resolution to instruct the President of the United States to institute an inquiry into the conduct of Wilkinson for having "while commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States corruptly received money from Spain or its agents," to create a more dramatic effect, then and there declared, pointing to Clark, that the latter, *coerced* by the authority of the House, could give more damning evidence against Wilkinson," and Clark (like Powers) in order to falsely appear as a reluctant accuser, demurred to giving evidence, although both Randolph and Clark were both full of venom and like snakes were coiled for their spring.

Wilkinson met this resolution and demanded a court of inquiry, which was granted by the President, January 2nd, 1808. Both Randolph and Clark were summoned as witnesses and neither *dared attend the trial*, the former because he knew nothing of his own knowledge, the latter, for the same reason that he had asked Jefferson that his previous papers be burned, dared not submit his forgeries and scoundrelism to the test of a cross-examination and like a jackal at the presence of a lion slunk away afraid of the scourging he would have received. After six months of investigation and delays the court of inquiry brought in a verdict finding Wilkinson not guilty and further stating "that he had discharged the duties of his station with honor to himself and fidelity to his country." This finding was approved by Thomas Jefferson.

Clark in his "Proofs" claims a letter dated and signed "R. R.", calling Jefferson "a fool" and Claiborne "a beast" received at Philadelphia by Coxe, his partner, was written in Wilkinson's hand, and this statement is repeated, but like the story of the three black crows, the letter is credited directly to Wilkinson, in the Coxe article. (19 Am. Historical Review).

The main Wilkinson letter to Gayoso published in Clark's "Proofs," was proven and declared a forgery and was traced to Powers and Clark by the Wilkinson Court Martial in 1811, Clark not daring to appear before the tribunal to back his hand-work, though duly summoned.

A little thing like ascribing an anonymous letter to Wilkinson was easy for Clark, however false the charge. Clark knew Wilkinson's handwriting well, therefore what object could the latter have had in writing a letter to Coxe, his partner, in his own hand, signed with fictitious initials and in it abusing his best friend and superior, Jefferson.

On December 2nd, 1808, Wilkinson was ordered by President Jefferson to assemble almost all the available troops at or near New Orleans, "and to have such disposition of the troops in that department formed as will most effectually enable you to defend New Orleans against any invading force.—H. Dearborn, Secretary of War."

Wilkinson does not mention in his memoirs that on his way to New Orleans he was entrusted by Jefferson with a secret mission to the Spaniards at Pensacola and Havana, which had for its object a possible coalition between Mexico, Cuba and certain South American colonies, and their later formation into powers independent of Spain. This was the first attempt at what became later the Monroe Doctrine in the United States.

Owing to the unsettled conditions in the Spanish possessions this mission was not a success.

By reason of the delay in these negotiations and because of slow transportation by sea Wilkinson did not reach New Orleans until April, 1809, where he found the troops already assembled many of them sick and destitute of supplies. It is important to note that under Jefferson, the evangelist of peace, the entire army of the United States had been allowed to dwindle to 3,000 men, 2,000 of which were then to be under Wilkinson at New Orleans. To preserve discipline, prevent desertions, and drill his troops, many of whom had never had proper military training, Wilkinson ordered his men into encampment at Terre aux Boeufs, a higher and healthier site than the present New Orleans U. S. Barracks site, and about 10 miles below the latter.

Mr. Madison had then become President. The greatest warrior that ever lived said, "An army travels on its stomach." The present efficiency of the greatest military machine that the world has ever known is due largely to the Kaiser's automobile kitchens. Railroads and automobiles were then unknown. The present anxiety over the use of the railroads for supplies by our army in Mexico shows how important that branch of the service is. Wilkinson without complaint had for years marched his men through trackless forests and over marshes and unbridged rivers where there were no roads even for

wagons or carts, and had made no murmur, but he bitterly complains in his Memoirs of the miserable state of his commissary where his men were dying and even the medicines the doctors ordered were not supplied. One fact entirely overlooked by historians deserves careful notice. Gayarre says, Vol. 4, p. 224:

"Claiborne in 1810, in consequence of the ravages of yellow fever *during the previous year*, recommended the legislature to make a sanitary code." Now it is a grave mistake to suppose that yellow fever does not spread to the country. The old original home of my grand father on the Pointe Celeste plantation, 40 miles below New Orleans, was burned down by its owner to kill the yellow fever germs of several persons who died there some time after the civil war. Mosquitoes also produce malarial fevers. We had then no Reed or Goethals, but Wilkinson finding the mosquitoes bad in his camp made a lengthy report to the Honorable Wm. Eustis, Secretary, of War, dated May 12th, 1809, in which among other things he said:

"The troops are without bunks or berths to repose on or mosquito nets to protect them against that pestiferous insect with which this country abounds; these accommodations are absolutely necessary not only to the comfort but the health and *even the lives of the men*, but they have not been provided yet."

The penurious administration of Madison let an army suffer and die all summer, in spite of Wilkinson's solemn warning, because they were too ignorant and mean to protect that army from disease and death. The report of the Hospital supplies, appendix CV of Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. 2nd, shows on hand, "106 bed sacks, 75 sheets, 8 mattresses, 89 blankets and 35 mosquito bars," and this for an army of 2,000 soldiers. No bars were provided, and even requisitions for delicacies, ordered by the surgeons for the sick, were refused by Mr. Eustis, Secretary of War.

See official document, Wilkinson Memoirs, Vol. 3, 354, which says:

"These under the existing "fifty dollar order" (the utmost that he could spend) "cannot be procured because they would cost at least ten thousand dollars; the men must therefore suffer, until some different arrangement is delivered. * * * * *

New Orleans was not well sewered, leveed and drained artificially then, as it is now, and was undoubtedly at that time a very unhealthy place.

The French Government had just before that time lost an army in San Domingo by yellow fever from mosquitoes. Mosquitoes vanquished the French and cost them thousands of lives before they abandoned the construction of the Panama Canal. In the

country below New Orleans common humanity still requires in summer the screening of stables and hen houses. In August, 1809, the hottest month of our southern summer, Wilkinson was ordered to move his army up to Fort Adams, which, to use the laconic expression of one of the surgeons made the "sick die and the well sick." On account of this mortality, which his enemies took advantage of to hold him responsible for, Wilkinson was ordered to report at Washington and to surrender his command to General Hampton.

Wilkinson arrived in Washington April 17th, 1810. Two committees of the House of Representatives had then been appointed, one to inquire into the cause of mortality among the troops that he had recently commanded, and the other with powers to investigate his public life, character and conduct. Randolph and his partisans by this means sought to evade a judicial inquiry and under shelter of an *ex parte* inquiry, held out of Wilkinson's presence, to collect a mass of informal, unauthentic and hearsay evidence, which, being sent throughout the union as parts of congressional records, would blacken Wilkinson's character, and so poison the public mind against him that he would be ruined. This was kept for two sessions by four committees, Wilkinson, all the time demanding a hearing by court martial. The effect of this poisonous attack on the public mind overreached itself. The public began to ask why, if Wilkinson was guilty, as pretended, he was not prosecuted. In vain Wilkinson was asked by the Secretary of War to return and let these scandals die out. To every appeal his answer was, "I am innocent and wish to face my enemies."

On June 14th, 1811, the President was forced to order a court martial to try him, to assemble the 1st Monday in September, 1811. Thirty-one counts, which no doubt both Randolph, Clark and the latter's hired informers, aided in preparing, were specified in the charges against Wilkinson. Facing these charges, some of which were punishable with death, without counsel, which he was probably too poor to employ, the old veteran with the same courage with which he had sailed down to New Orleans to brave alone the hostility of Spain, faced an entire hostile administration and Congress, and without technicality pleaded not guilty.

In spite of the fact that every serious charge against him was then barred by the statute of limitations, he disdained such shelter; in spite of the fact that he had been acquitted by a previous court of inquiry of every serious charge in this new indictment and under the Constitution of the United States could not be twice put in jeopardy, for the same offense, he did not plead *autrefois acquis*; in spite

of the provision in the Constitution of the United States that in a criminal trial the accused and the witnesses must be brought face to face, and he, a scholar, knew it, he allowed the whole record of the Burr trial, to which he was not a party, the entire *ex parte* evidence and proceedings before four committees of Congress, largely hearsay evidence, to be introduced, and during the trial which lasted for over four months in which he denounced Clark for a perjurer, forger and scoundrel, in which he produced witness after witness to prove that both Daniel Clark and his venal dependant, Thomas Powers, were unworthy of belief, Clark did not dare to appear and testify in open court. Not satisfied with defaming Wilkinson through congressional reports, Clark previous to this trial had procured Daniel W. Coxe, his partner and two other parties to write a book called the "Proofs of the Corruption of General Wilkinson," which he had published at his own expense, yet when called upon afterwards to make good his proofs Clark crawled like a snake into his hole.

It is true that an *ex parte* affidavit, filed by him in the shelter of a congressional committee room, was handed over to the court martial with other committee records. Knowing full well that it would be strange that he, posing as such a noble patriot, should have kept such important evidence as he testified to, locked in his bosom so long, Clark, in his carefully prepared statement, sworn to January 11th, 1808, stated:

"At the periods spoken of and for some time afterwards, I was resident in the Spanish territory, subject to the Spanish laws, and without an expectation of becoming a citizen of the United States. My obligations were then *to conceal* and not to communicate to the government of the United States the projects and enterprises, which I have mentioned of General Wilkinson, and the Spanish Government."

When he made this affidavit Louisiana had been American territory over four years.

Clark did not know when he made this deposition, that President Jefferson would by special message to Congress on January 20th, 1808, nine days *later than Clark's deposition*, prove that he was a perjurer and that while he was a citizen of Spain had tried to stab Wilkinson in the back, and then to have the weapons he did it with destroyed.

I do not propose to quote the many complimentary and fawning letters that Clark had written to Wilkinson before, after and during the times he charged the latter with wrong doing; I do not propose to cite the testimony of the many prominent men that Clark had

previously told that Wilkinson was innocent of these charges; I do not propose to cite the evidence of the witnesses that testified Clark was the most malignant of men, as these are all set out in Wilkinson's Memoirs, (2nd Volume.) Suffice it, that the members of the court martial, in their finding, stated that Clark was impeached, which meant that he could not be believed under oath. Clark's star witness, Thomas Powers, arrived after the evidence was closed. At Wilkinson's request the case was reopened and Powers permitted to testify. His evidence was entirely shattered. Since his depositions have been quoted and relied on by some historians, I mention that Capt. John Bowyer, Silas Dinsmore and Governor Claiborne testified that Powers had declared to them that Wilkinson was innocent. Wilkinson further produced a voluntary written and signed statement, dated May 16th, 1807, and enclosed to him by Powers long after the incidents that Powers, who was later suborned by Clark narrated, which statement began:

"I, Thomas Powers, of the city of New Orleans, moved solely by a sense of justice and the desire to prevent my name being employed to sanction groundless slanders, do most solemnly declare that I have at no time carried or delivered to General James Wilkinson from the government of Spain or any other persons in the service of said government bills of money specie or other property."

This statement further absolves Wilkinson from any connection with Powers' mission to Kentucky in behalf of Spain.

On February 6th, 1803, Thomas Powers had written Wilkinson a fawning and obsequious letter concluding:

"I respect your virtue, admire your understanding, reverence and esteem your character and shall ever be proud of your friendship not only as an honor but an ornament."

Wilkinson further produced the depositions of Major G. C. Russell, Geo. Mather, and William Wikoff, Jr., that the character of Thomas Powers was infamous, as he was generally known as a venal dependent of Clark. The court martial in its reasons for verdict declared in its report, that Thomas Powers, like Daniel Clark, was unworthy of belief. The court martial delivered its lengthy verdict Christmas Day, 1811. We cite only a few passages from it:

"It appears evident to the court that in 1795 a considerable sum of money was due to General Wilkinson from the Spanish government at New Orleans on account of his commercial transactions. This circumstance is deemed sufficient to account for such parts of said correspondence as have been proved which was apparently to preserve the friendship of the officers and agents of the Spanish power to magnify the importance of General Wilkinson in their view; to secure his property then under their control in New Orleans; and to facilitate its remittance from that place
* * * * *

It is pertinent to remark, that if attempts were made to corrupt the patriotism and integrity of General Wilkinson, the records of this court exhibit no one act of military life which can by the most constrained construction be considered as the effect of that construction. If General Wilkinson actually formed a corrupt connection with the Spanish government, the repeated application made by him many years ago for an inquiry into his conduct, appear rather inexplicable especially as many of the witnesses of his guilt, if he was guilty, then lived to testify on that subject.

On the whole, the court thinks it proper to declare, that from a comparison of all the testimony, General Wilkinson, appears to have performed his various and complicated duties with zeal and fidelity and merits the approbation of his country. (Signed) P. Gansevoort, Brigadier General presiding."

This decision was reluctantly approved by Wilkinson's enemy, President Madison, on February 14th, 1812, a month and a half after rendition.

"But," says, Mr. Gayarre, "newly discovered evidence warrants a rearrangement of General Wilkinson's memory at least before the bar of history."

It is an axiom in both civil and criminal law that to discover truth, trials should be prompt. The statute of limitation is of divine origin (15 Deuteronomy) and is based on that axiom. Similar documents to those that Gayarre cites, from both Governor Carondelet and Gayoso, were produced, examined and pronounced forgeries at Wilkinson's trial. The whole new evidence cited are similar letters, and copies of Wilkinson's alleged letters deciphered, translated into another tongue, and then retranslated back into English.

When Wilkinson was tried, Gayoso and the Baron de Carondelet were both dead, and Miro had gone back to Spain. Whether in the deciphering of these letters, or their translations into Spanish, they were not added to, to justify the leeching process by which these Spanish officials magnified their own importance, and were ever bleeding the home government, I know not, and neither did Gayarre. The Americans were to the Spaniards then what the Gringos are to Mexicans today, and Gayarre certainly has vented much ill will against Wilkinson.

The first rule as to evidence to prove a fact is, that the witness produced must be a credible person. I have previously shown the misuse and waste by the Spanish Governors of the funds of the colony of Louisiana, and even the "honest" Miro was charged with embezzlement after he left by the Spanish Intendant.

(See Gayarre Vol. 3).

Howard's History of the Purchase of Louisiana, says, p. 51; that in 1786 Governor Miro spent \$300,000.00 in inflaming the Indians against the Americans. Miro undoubtedly shared in Wil-

kinson's ventures. Gilberto Leonard, the Spanish Treasurer, was also interested as in his letter about the last payment to Wilkinson in 1796, for the condemned tobacco, which was the last money Wilkinson ever received from Spain, as shown clearly on his trial, he asked Wilkinson not to let it be known that he was so interested.

To show how prone the Spaniards were to fraud, when it was noised abroad in 1803 that Louisiana had been ceded to France and negotiations for its purchase were on by the United States, the Spanish rulers, knowing that private land titles would probably be respected, attempted to make a large number of antedated grants and back them by fictitious surveys.

In the American State Papers "Public Lands" Vol. 8, pp. 835-6, the United States Commissioners adopted a report:

"That the frequency of these land grants at the close of the Spanish government furnishes strong evidence of fraud * * * * *. These antedated concessions bear date in the most part in 1799 and 1800, for the purpose of covering up matters and preserving fair appearances."

It is not so long since in Louisiana that a law was passed against padding dead head pay rolls. It is a favorite device of the average ward politician to get money in elections for alleged pensionaires, which money he keeps for himself.

The French Prefect Laussat wrote home of Louisiana in 1803, "I will now proceed to show how justice is administered here, which is worse than in Turkey."

United States Consul Clark wrote to Washington in 1803; "All the officers plunder when the opportunity offers, they are all venal from the Governor down." (Howard's Purchase of Louisiana, p. 127).

Havana, Cuba, was the parent colony to which the Louisiana and Pensacola Colonies reported.

In the Ostend Manifesto of October 18th, 1854, the American Commissioners, James Buchanan, N. J. Mason and Pierre Soule, the latter at one time United States Senator from Louisiana, in recommending the purchase of Cuba said:

"The irresponsible agents sent by Spain to govern Cuba, * * * * * are tempted to improve the brief opportunity thus afforded to accumulate fortunes by the basest means."

General Fitzhugh Lee in his History of Cuba's Struggle Against Spain, says (p. 100):

"The Spanish Governor who made the highest record at home was he who wrung from the Cuban the greatest amount of gold * * * * * (p. 107). "Arbitrary governors and swarms of officials, military and political, were always quartered on the people with the uniform hope of returning to Spain rich with the spoils of vice."

General Lee says, (p. 118):

"While the Cubans were daily growing poorer the Spanish officials were increasing their private fortunes * * * * * The government offices in a short time became the property of the highest bidder." * * * * * Such was the corruption in the collection of duties that in 1887 the Havana Customhouse was cleared at the point of the bayonet by Captain General Marin."

A greater one than Wilkinson has said, "A tree is judged by its fruits." The Talmud says "deeds speak louder than words," and whether in the revolutionary war, the Indian wars, at Sabine River, Natchez, Mobile or New Orleans, Wilkinson in no single act ever wavered in bravely doing his full duty by his country.

Wilkinson to the day of his death was comparatively poor. I saw only recently at Pointe-a-la-Hache the original of an act by which he bought a portion of the present Live Oak Grove Plantation, 25 miles below the city of New Orleans for fourteen hundred dollars, of which he paid only four hundred dollars in cash. This purchase was made from Dufour Freres on December 28th, 1818.

I again repeat that no fair or just man would convict an American General, who uniformly opposed them, on the unsworn and ex-parte statements of his Spanish enemies whom he uniformly opposed.

Wilkinson after his acquittal by this court martial was ordered to take charge of and place the defenses of the city of New Orleans in order, which he did.

Martin says, (p. 256):

"On the 12th of February 1813 Congress authorized the President of the United States to occupy and hold that part of West Florida lying west of the River Perdido not then in the possession of the United States. Orders for this purpose were sent to Wilkinson who immediately took measures with Commodore Shaw and the necessary equipment being made the forces employed in this service reached the vicinity of Fort Charlotte between the 7th and 8th of April having on their way dispossessed a Spanish guard on Dauphin Island and intercepted a Spanish transport having on board detachments of artillery with munitions of war. Don Gayetano Perez, who commanded in Fort Charlotte received the first information of Wilkinson's approach from his drums. The place was strong and well supplied with artillery but the garrison consisted of 150 effective men only and was destitute of provisions. Don Gayetano capitulated on the 13th. The garrison was sent to Pensacola. The artillery of the fort was retained; with part of it Wilkinson established a new fort at Mobile Point. He left Colonel Constant in charge of Fort Charlotte and returned to New Orleans, which he left a few days after, being ordered to join the army on the frontiers of Canada."

On his way to Canada he stopped at Washington and conferred with Secretary of War Armstrong. His advice as to the projected campaign was rejected, and the plans of the War Department for an attack on Montreal was adopted.

In the wars of 1812 the blame for the many failures of the American land forces has never been placed where it properly belongs, that is on the War Department of the Madison administration. The war of 1812 was most unpopular in the northern States. William J. Bryan was not more of a peace at any price leader, than was Thomas Jefferson, who permitted the army of the United States to shrink to 3,000 men, and as small as this force was, the arms, ammunition and general equipment under both Jefferson and Madison, were infinitely more meager. Twenty-nine years had elapsed between the end of the revolutionary war and the beginning of the war of 1812, and during this time both Jefferson and Madison had acted on the belief that eternal peace was the heritage of this country.

During twenty years of this time, the British were largely engaged against the greatest general the world had ever known, and both their army and navy had vastly improved. The raw recruits sent against the flower of the British veterans, in the war of 1812, were poorly drilled and trained and were worse equipped and fed.

Secretary of War Armstrong, under President Madison, was utterly inefficient. Moreover the French, who had greatly helped the Americans in the revolutionary war and Spain and Holland that indirectly helped them were not our friends in 1812, and even if they had been, the battle of Waterloo had been in effect fought at Trafalgar, 10 years previous to the latter, the French fleets were destroyed, and England was then, as now, the mistress of the seas. I do not propose to describe General Hull's campaign, surrender and subsequent court martial and condemnation to be shot for cowardice; nor the unsuccessful campaigns of Generals Dearborn, Van Rensselaer and Smyth; nor the cowardly and abject surrender of the city of Washington and the burning of the capitol there by the British, since these are matters of well known history. Nor do I propose to dwell at any length on how Wilkinson was ordered to go to Sacketts Harbor and take charge there of raw levies of undisciplined troops, with which he was subsequently to conduct a winter campaign in Canada. Canada is a far colder section than Valley Forge, where Washington had to seek winter quarters with his army. Winter overcame even Napoleon at Moscow. Wilkinson's army was largely sick, miserably equipped and with hardly any clothing, arms or food; the boats to transport them were insufficient and many of them unseaworthy; the army under General Wade Hampton also refused to join and cooperate with him, as they had originally been ordered to do, and owing to Secretary Armstrong's vacillating policy, they were not forced to obey this order. Added to all this Wilkinson, then

57 years old, had been for years fighting, marching, counter-marching and running boundaries, in the revolutionary wars, in Indian campaigns and in the wilds and swamps of Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana, and his health had broken down, and he not only asked to be relieved of his command but his surgeon also certified to Secretary of War Armstrong that he was ill and there was a necessity of his being relieved, which was not done. Much of the time then Wilkinson was on a sick bed with the army, and the failure of his campaign was due as much to "the infantry of the snow and the cavalry of the wild blast" as to the failure of General Wade Hampton to cooperate with him, and his lack of supplies. In order to shift the responsibility of the failure of this campaign from the shoulders of his war secretary, charges were preferred by President Madison's orders involving inefficiency and drunkenness while on duty against Major General Wilkinson. After a trial before a court martial lasting nearly two months, on March 21st, 1815, Wilkinson was honorably acquitted on all charges, and President Madison approved the finding of the court martial.

One of these charges against Wilkinson was for drunkenness. In those days many leading men were hard drinkers and before studying the record I was under the impression that Wilkinson, like many Kentuckians, might have been too much addicted to liquor, but after reading the evidence taken on that court martial, which is carefully quoted verbatim in Wilkinson's Memoirs, 3rd Volume, I find that evidence completely disproved this charge, even his attending surgeon testifying that Wilkinson was then abstemious as to liquor and opposed to its use in the army, and the court martial, in its verdict specifically found he was not guilty of each and every charge, including the charge of drunkenness.

Wilkinson at the conclusion of the war in 1815 left the army and came to Louisiana, where he engaged in planting on the Mississippi river below New Orleans, and where his descendants, to the fourth generations, are still to be found. The same lure of the wild that called such Kentuckians as Wallace, Crockett, and Houston, to go over into Texas, tempted Wilkinson to go there himself at an earlier date, about 1823. Lands were to be had then for almost nothing in Texas and he went down to the City of Mexico, that had jurisdiction over Texas, to enter titles to certain of these lands. Like many men, who begin life young, and endure many hardships, he had by that time worn out a naturally strong and rugged constitution, and falling sick died near the City of Mexico in 1825 at 68 years of

age. His grave is situated in the Baptist Cemetery in the City of Mexico.

It may be possible that Wilkinson, who seems to have been somewhat garrulous and sometimes quarrelsome, may have been reckless and indiscreet in his utterances. Edward IV, in his remorse at a brother's murder is made to cry out, "He slew no man, his fault was thought, and yet his punishment was bitter death." Men are not usually condemned for what they think but what they do, and on what he did Wilkinson was an able and true soldier of the republic.

Wilkinson, while living, valued his reputation more than his life. From his scanty means he had published three large volumes in his own defense which are quoted as an authority of his times by a great many authors. The Roman centurion, when on trial, had a right to bare his breast and call on his judges to note the wounds he had suffered for his country's sake. Wilkinson is the only American officer that ever led the forces of this united country from the St. Lawrence to the Sabine River, and whether in the revolution, the Indian wars, or in his campaigns against Spain, he discharged his duties, as his court martial said, "with honor to himself and fidelity to his country."

If some of the writers who love to denounce him in their comfortable studies, could have endured all the hardships and exposures that Wilkinson did on his many campaigns, wars and explorations; if they had risked their lives, as often as he did, against British and Spanish enemies and in trackless wilds against the more cruel Indians, all in services and defense of their country and its people, they would not have been so willing to condemn him.

No public writer has given Wilkinson credit for the principal work of his life.

I have shown that he had hardly set foot in the west, before he began a comprehensive study of the Mississippi Valley. During his travels, by every means in his power, he was obtaining maps and information as to the west. Acting, under his instructions, Nolan, his agent, in his trips through West Louisiana and Texas, brought him maps of these sections. He was prior to 1800 repeatedly consulted as to the geography of the west by Jefferson's administration and by public men, Clark included.

Surveys in Georgia and Mississippi were made by him. Partly owing to his activities the Lewis and Clark surveys were begun in

1803, and continued long after, during his command of the department of the west. Professor Cox says:

"Wilkinson sent to Jefferson in 1804 a 22 page memorial describing the country between the Mississippi and the Rio Grande accompanied by 22 maps."

American Historical Review, Vol. 19, p. 809 (Wilkinson to Dearborn July 13th, 1804, and enclosures).

"It is likely that this information caused the President to modify the instructions already issued to our envoys at Madrid, and to insist more strongly on our boundary claims, (same article).

(American State Papers foreign relations, 627 et seq.)

How wonderfully Spain benefited from such work!

In the last edition of the "Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike," by Elliot Coues, that author, Preface VI, says of the Lewis and Clark and Pike expeditions:

"Both expeditions originated with the commander-in-chief of the army (Wilkinson), both were as strictly military in method as in purpose."

All that Pike accomplished "was incidental to Wilkinson's main aim."

On July 30th, 1805, Zebulon M. Pike was detached for this service. The author adds:

"His selection for the duty by Wilkinson was the beginning of all his greatness."

These expeditions of a few men through boundless western wilds among hostile savages and Spaniards showed great courage. Wilkinson's son James was with Pike, and is the first American officer who ever traced the Arkansas river from its source. He reached New Orleans in time to see his mother, Mrs. Ann Wilkinson, the devoted wife of General Wilkinson, die there, February 23rd, 1807.

Pike acted under General Wilkinson and the orders to him from the latter show great skill in engineering and a good knowledge of astronomy. These orders led Pike too close to the Spanish possessions and he was arrested by the Spaniards and taken to Chihuahua, where he arrived April 2nd, 1807. He was subsequently released. In his journal, he says, that he talked with the Spaniards about the Sabine compromise of October, 1806, about which Wilkinson is attacked by Burr historians, some of whom have the temerity to claim that Wilkinson was bribed by Herrera:

"Notwithstanding the vice roy's orders and the commandant General Gov. Cordero's, which were to attack the Americans Herrera had the temerity to enter into the agreement with General Wilkinson *which at present exists relative to the boundaries of our frontier.*

On his return Herrera was received with coolness by his superiors, 'I experienced,' said Herrera, 'the most unhappy period of my life, conscious that I served my country faithfully though I had violated every principle of military duty.' " (Vol. 2, p. 703).

Above is an extract from Pike's diary written at a date shortly after the Sabine compromise.

These surveys of Wilkinson, of Lewis and Clark and of Pike were the first plans laid for the future greatness of this country from the Alleghanies to the Pacific slope, and though in the capital at Washington the picture of "westward the star of Empire takes its way" attracts all visitors, the leader of the wise men who first followed that star in this country has been given no share of the credit for his great work.

But there is another reason why Wilkinson has the right to demand justice at the hands of his people. His only brother, Joseph Wilkinson, was a general in the revolutionary war; his son, my grand father, Joseph B. Wilkinson, was an officer in the navy and served under Bainbridge in the Mediterranean and under Perry in 1812 on the great lakes; his second son, James Wilkinson, was a captain in the United States army and the latter's son, Theophilus, was an artillery officer in that service; his grandson, Major Robert A. Wilkinson of the Confederate army, was killed at the second battle of Manassas; his great grandson, J. B. Penrose, was later killed in the same war; three other grandsons, including my eldest brother, Jos. B. Wilkinson, Jr., fought on the same side; his eldest son, my grandfather, then nearly 80 years of age, and the latter's son, my father, were both put in prison by the Federals for aiding the South.

I remember a little over 44 years ago, when a lad, I was here charging Kellog's infantry entrenched in this very Cabildo, and two years later I was in the 14th of September fight of 1874. General Wilkinson's great great grandson, Lieutenant Theodore S. Wilkinson, Jr., of the United States Navy was some years ago the honor graduate at Annapolis and wears today a medal on his breast for a gallant charge in the recent capture of Vera Cruz.

For five generations Wilkinson and his descendants have served and suffered for their country's sake and he, and they, deserve something better of that country than slander and calumny.

Wilkinson, like Sir John Moore, has answered the reveille of the great beyond and his dreamless dust rests in a far off land.

But for his country's sake, that he loved, for history's sake that honors truth, I present this imperfect contribution to the memory of an able soldier and a patriotic statesman.

Appendix added by Louisiana Historical Society:

**LETTER FROM THE MAYOR OF NEW ORLEANS TO
BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON***General:*

We have witnessed your conduct at the time of Burr's conspiracy and the proceedings instituted by the District Court have opened our eyes to the treacherous aims of the conspirators, thanks to the energy and zeal that you displayed in the time of trouble, the inhabitants of New Orleans were saved from pillage and the United States from civil war.

Enemies have assailed you with malicious calumnies, that your actions have proved false. They have solicited and obtained from the government the institution of a court martial to prosecute an officer whose only crime was, to have resisted all temptation.

Disappointed to see that the decision of the tribunal has rendered homage to your honour assailed, and has turned on the accusers an eternal shame; those same people are trying today to influence public opinion in preaching in profusion all sorts of ridiculous and false anecdotes that they had published in detail in the Gazette pages.

Notwithstanding the proof given by the decision of the tribunal, that, false publication, General, will receive the fate it deserves. It will be looked upon in this territory by all honest men as the monstrous fruit of madness and the last efforts of a foolish ambition that they forever have lost and that opinion will be shared by the citizens from the northern States when they will have learned of the infamous libel and when they see the uninterrupted confidence with which you have been honored by the virtuous Jefferson and his illustrious predecessors.

Please receive, General, the expression of esteem and gratitude of the corporation of New Orleans; be assured that in whatever circumstances it will please divine providence to place you, we will always take the deepest interest in your welfare and happiness.

Signed CHARS. THES. POREE.

President Pro tempore and the Members of the Council.

Oct. 4th, 1809.

Translated from the original on file in the Library of Louisiana State Museum.

